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SPEECHES & ADDRESSES
OF
HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III
Maharaja of Baroda



VOLUME THREE
1927-1934

*With
a Portrait of His Highness
in photographure*



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INTRODUCTION

I

There are nearly seven hundred Indian States, comprising about one-third of the area of India, and inhabited by about one-quarter of its medley of peoples. "Rich in variety, types and contrasts", they are in many ways the most interesting parts of India, and they assume a new and vital importance in the Federal Constitution now being inaugurated.

Amongst them, Baroda (though it is only one-tenth of the area of Hyderabad) has an honoured place, and its Ruler an unique one. For over half a century he has guided the peoples committed to him (now numbering two and a quarter millions) from chaos and corruption to order and probity, and they revere and love him as a fatherly autocrat. This is an old and honoured ideal in India, and it has its place in the present welter of "democracy". Indeed the Indian States, if they are wisely governed, may again prove, as they have proved in the past, to be pillars of rock amidst the quicksands of revolution. And if some are badly and tyrannically governed and seem to invite trouble, others, such as Baroda, are in many things ahead of British India. For an autocrat who is a Hindu can carry out reforms which no British ruler would attempt: and the Rajas, through their tours and durbars, are often in closer touch with the people than many officials.

The paternal note of many of these addresses will not be missed, and if some appear to deal with the obvious and commonplace this is of the real genius of the speaker, whose

long experience has taught him the importance of detail and the tendency of officials to lose sight of it.

His firm but kindly hand is as evident in every department of his scattered territory as is that of his contemporary Marshal Lyautey in North Africa, and they are in many ways curiously alike.

Both are veterans of immense experience and amazing vitality, who, themselves fatherly autocrats, subserve the interests of a modern democracy; both intensely royalist, they are loyal to the Commonwealths they serve.

Both are reformers and conservators. Just as the Marshal of France has brought the best ideals of the West to Africa and Indo-China, so has the Maharaja of Baroda seen and approved the inner spirit of much in Western culture which to lesser minds in Asia has seemed materialistic and inimical: yet he has been careful and skilful, like Lyautey, in preserving indigenous culture and in encouraging its revival. He has for half a century been urging his people to study Western thought, and to learn from Western practice, and has provided many facilities, to which these speeches refer, alike for conservation and for innovation.

In their character, too, Maharaja and Marshal are not dissimilar: exponents of the soldier-ideal, realising itself most happily in works of peaceful reconstruction: idealists with a great power of realistic achievement. Both have in fact built new and progressive States on old and corrupt foundations, and in building have known how to study the master-builders of other times, and to choose associates whom they inspire with loyalty, both to their persons and to their tasks. If their hand is on all their works, their song is on the lips of all their peoples.

In this third volume of his *Speeches* the Maharaja is seen once more in his many-sided and beneficent activities. The occasions and the audiences vary from the local and domestic to the international; the themes from the homely to the sublime. It is in this combination that the Ruler of Baroda achieves greatness. As builder of an ordered State and as leader in many movements in the new India, he has a genius for detail as well as a far range of vision.

Of his general policies such speeches as those at the opening of Pratapsinh Lake will give the reader an idea. Here is an account of his stewardship during a long and notable reign.

He is the only living Ruler who can claim to have reigned over half a century, and during this time he has studied and thought much, and his addresses to such important gatherings as the Indian Philosophical Congress and the Chicago "Parliament of Religions" reveal his vital interest in and his practical grasp of the principles of religion and philosophy. Professor Widgery in his able Preface to these volumes, ventured a prophecy that the Ruler of Baroda might yet express himself more positively in this sphere; this prophecy is here seen to be fulfilled. While he is no mystic, it is clear in many of these speeches that His Highness is truly religious and wishes to reform Hinduism, not to destroy it. His interest in human values makes him impatient of tabus and of unrealities, and he does not hesitate to legislate against such abuses as caste-tyranny. But his fight for the rights of the "Harijans" (hitherto "untouchable"), and his constant efforts to reform priests and temples put him in the forefront also of the makers of the New Hinduism.

It is his practice to invite representatives of the great religions to address him, at sunset, on a beautiful terrace of his Palace, or in a Hindu shrine. He listens attentively, if critically, to an address on the Gita, or on the Life and Teachings of Jesus, or of Mahomed. These he also reads in the same spirit. No eclectic, he is perhaps a synthetist. Holding that his people must learn from West as well as from East, he insists that truth is one, and invites all seekers after truth to work together in embodying it in practice.

In several of these speeches his own religious position is made clear, and his insistence on moral reform emphatic. A sincere humanist, he is not untouched by theistic ideals, and in the simplicity of his ideas there is true profundity. This is recognised in his election to the position of President of the Fellowship of Faiths, as his practical interest in education made him a worthy Chancellor of the Hindu University of Benares, and his support of a new cultural unity in India has led to his election to the Presidency of the All-India Hindi Association. His sterling qualities as a Ruler: loyalty to duty and to his people—loyalty to his Order and to the Commonwealth—faithful attention to detail—prompt recognition of merit—these are obvious to all. But behind these and inspiring them is loyalty to truth and devotion to humanity. This is a good working religion for any man, and in a Ruler it is the best inspiration in the detailed tasks of administration: "To love righteousness and to hate iniquity" is to be a fellow-worker with God.

KENNETH SAUNDERS

SPEECHES & ADDRESSES OF

HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III
Maharaja of Baroda



CVIII

At the Indian Philosophical Congress, Bombay, 19th December 1927.

GENTLEMEN,—I have to thank you for the cordial reception you have given me. When I received the invitation of your committee to give the inaugural address of your Congress, I felt, as I still feel, that this honour and this task should rightly fall upon some one eminent in the world of scholarship. But, having throughout my adult life taken such opportunities as have offered themselves to acquaint myself with the rudiments of philosophy, I thought that on this occasion you might be willing to forgo a technical discourse, and to consider the philosophical reflections of one whose main duties have been closely associated with social administration and social advance.

Further reflection made me welcome such an occasion to draw your attention, and that of thinking Indians generally, to some urgent demands of the life of our race and of our time. It has all too frequently been said: Philosophy bakes no bread. It has all too frequently been charged against philosophers that their reflections are remote from the facts of ordinary life, and have little or no bearing upon it. I wish to challenge such a view. I maintain that philosophy, rightly understood, may have very important

bearings on practical social advance. I maintain that philosophy, rightly understood, is a vital and fundamental factor in social progress. And, Gentlemen, speaking from this chair, I trust that I may be voicing your convictions also concerning the significance of philosophy. Our deliberations should not simply be intellectually interesting: they should be of value to our fellow-men beyond this small circle; they should have genuine practical importance.

The history of philosophy, in the East as in the West, contains many examples of its influence on the development of civilisation. Sometimes it is suggested that that was when philosophy had not the severely technical character which it claims to-day. But, surely, the increased care, the greater regard to method, the undogmatic spirit, with which philosophy is now studied, should make it more not less valuable for human life. Many great philosophers in the past brought philosophical reflection to the solution of practical problems, and thinkers to-day are called upon to consider such problems in the light of philosophy. But before indicating the directions in which philosophy ought to have an influence on social progress in India, at the present time, I would call your attention to some preliminary considerations.

Let us turn our attention to the study of philosophy in Indian Universities as it is, and as it might be. What has been the nature of the requirements during the last forty or fifty years for students who have wished to qualify for a degree in philosophy? Is it not true that in the past, and even now, more often than not a student might obtain a degree in philosophy without showing any knowledge of the philosophy which has originated and developed in his own country and among his own people? Is there any other civi-

and knowledge of Indian thought than of that of the West. In view of the linguistic difficulties and the differences among Sanskrit scholars as to the interpretation of Indian philosophical classics, it may be better for most students to use translations by efficient scholars than to trust to the sort of elementary knowledge of Sanskrit they may personally acquire. Those who can qualify themselves linguistically should study the original texts and interpret them for their less well-equipped fellows.

There is another reason why attention is directed to Western thought and away from that of India. It is claimed that the study of Western systems gives a more thorough philosophical training. Western thought is essentially critical, systematic, logical; it is marked by the rigour of its method, by its effort for accuracy and clearness. Though it may not always reach the standard demanded by Descartes, the Father of Modern Philosophy in the West: "Define all terms and prove all propositions"—it aims at absolute freedom of thought and the utmost clarity of expression. There is no need for me to bring forward evidence of the great achievements of Western thinkers inspired by these aims. Contrasted with them, it is undeniable that the thought of the East manifests much dogmatism, is very largely lacking in system, and often indefinite in method. Unfortunately, to the want of sound logical sequence of ideas must be added all too frequent obscurity of expression. Sometimes it even seems as though such obscurity was cultivated in order to produce a greater impression of mystery.

Yet criticisms of this kind by no means justify the neglect of Indian philosophy. They do not prove that the ideas contained in it are of little or no value. There are good

grounds for maintaining that both in its ideas and in its methods Indian philosophy contains much that is of genuine worth. These criticisms indicate the need for its study rather than justify its neglect. What is really required is that Indian students should train their minds in accordance with the high standard of accuracy and logical precision found in the West, and study and systematise those contents of Indian classical literature which are worth preserving. In short, we should aim at a combination of Western clarity and logic with Eastern comprehensiveness and profundity.

This aim leads to important considerations of detail as to the study of philosophy in India. Here it is possible to indicate only the main directions of these. In the first place in our Universities and among educated people generally there should be definite attention to the history of Indian philosophy. It is a happy sign of the beginning of a movement in this direction that within recent years a few important books on this subject have been published. I need only mention the *History of Indian Philosophy* by Dr Das Gupta, eminent for its accurate scholarship; that of Prof. Radhakrishna, impressive by its broad sweep, and the systematic study of *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy* by Dr Barua.

The history of Indian philosophical thought is not only interesting in itself. The vigour of its best periods in the past should provide us with an inspiring lesson in opposition to the torpid acquiescence in tradition which has characterised our intellectual life for centuries. The *Vedas*, though they contain the beginnings of Indian philosophical reflection, were, after all, mainly compilations for use in religious worship. In the *Āraṇyakas* there is a slight step forward; in

them philosophical reflections are gathered together with some freedom from the symbolism and ritual that dulled thought in the times both of the *Vedas* and the *Brahmanas*. This movement towards independence and freedom of thought involves a great and important principle, which has striven for recognition at various times in our history, and is in great need of recognition and expression to day.

The transition to the *Upanishads* was a truly remarkable advance in this direction. They reveal an independence in the raising of problems and a freedom in the search for solutions which can be paralleled only in the early philosophy of Greece. The *Upanishads* may not have so direct a practical bearing as the writings of Plato and Aristotle, with their interest in the life of man as an individual and a social being, nonetheless they have more than a theoretical interest. They include a variety of views. With an appreciation of the fundamental problems of existence, they discuss questions concerning man and his duty, the world of nature, and God. What is chiefly important for us to notice here is the fact that dogmatism of later orthodox type is absent. The appeal is to the intelligence of man, not to the authority of sacred texts. Time is too short for us to linger on the contents of these genuine efforts of our early thinkers. They have long awaited exposition by an Indian inspired by the Indian spirit, equipped with a knowledge of Sanskrit, and a mind disciplined by Western methods of research. I believe we may welcome in Prof. Ranade's recent masterly work on the *Upanishads* what we have so long awaited.

Nevertheless, as Prof. Ranade's work amply reveals, the Upanishadic thinkers had not yet learnt to think very systematically. They jump from facts to symbols, from the rational consideration of ideas to poetic interpretations of

religious rites. But more systematic thought, inspired no doubt by the intellectual freedom of the *Upanishads*, began to spring up in many directions. Some of these movements associated themselves with particular religious cults which may have been of older standing. We see, for example, the rise to greater clearness of view of the more theistic tendencies which may be grouped as Vaishnavism. Then, in quite a different direction, Jainism, whatever its origin may have been, championed a philosophic movement which tended to purify life from much of its brutality, and vigorously opposed the destruction of life too often associated with religious rites, maintaining that by his own inner personal effort the individual must strive for the attainment of the ideal. From its opposition to Brahmanical ceremonialism and social oppression, and from its criticisms in general, much may be learnt of the conditions of India at the time of its rise to prominence. Later, Buddhism arose and spread over a great part of India, striving to free the life of men from mistaken endeavours and false hopes. Intellect, which had manifested its freedom in the *Upanishads*, had tended to become its own idol, it seemed to set up powerless and futile abstractions and to distract attention from the pressing problems of suffering and evil. With much intellectual insight and psychological knowledge, Buddhism sought to turn the attention of men from metaphysical abstractions to ethical realities. It opposed useless ritual, irrational self-torture, and the cruelty of animal sacrifices. It undermined the idea of caste. Buddhism not only placed ethics in the forefront as opposed to intellectualism and ceremonialism, it also inspired a great and marvellous artistic activity. But it was swamped and in part absorbed by the surrounding cults. Its monastic tendency led to a divorce from ordinary

social activities, with the consequence of rapid decay in face of widespread and repeated invasions

It is not possible for me here to describe the important intellectual analysis and speculation in the philosophical system of *Sāṃkhya*. Both it and the practical system of *Yoga* had marked effects on Jainism and Buddhism, and their influence on Indian life and thought has continued to our own times. The *Yoga* system is a series of practical means to the attainment of the highest knowledge. Its later forms have degenerated and become mixed with superstition, associated with claims to supernatural powers—claims usually assumed in order to impress the ignorant. Here there seems a great need of purging, of purification by renewed philosophical criticism. What the *Yoga* system may have to teach us as to the preparation for the attainment of true philosophic insight needs to be dissociated from the fantastic and the magical.

Advance in intellectual systematisation had led to the compilation of a sort of epitome of Upanishadic teaching in the so called *Brahma-sūtras* ascribed to Vyasa and Bādarāyaṇa. Much other material, systematic and unsystematic, often of an ethical kind, eventually became grouped together in the epics, especially the *Mahabharata*. One line of thought reached a definitive statement in the philosophy of Śaṅkarācharya, especially in his commentaries on the *Brahma-sūtras* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Other varying expressions took shape in the works of Rāmānujācharya and Mādhavācharya. I venture to believe that there was much that was reactionary in the work of Śaṅkara. Be that as it may, this at least seems true, that the philosophy associated with his name has become a form of Indian scholasticism which still continues. Since the time of Śaṅkarācharya and that of

his great opponents, philosophy in India has rarely been able to free itself from the limitations of a merely deductive method. This characteristic of the Indian mental life of the past—and incidentally of much of our mental life to-day—merits closer consideration and exemplification.

It is not here a question of the methods adopted by the great leaders of Indian philosophical and religious thought. They used methods of independent investigation, to a large extent introspective, and always with a large amount of unfettered reflection. Not so their disciples and successors. They have accepted teaching from the guru, and more often than not have treated it dogmatically. Their own reflection has been a form of deductive inference of what they supposed the received teaching to imply. In later times the Indian systems of philosophy have thus been elaborated with an increasing divorce from real problems, from the world of facts, and from the demands of social advance. To express the situation briefly: Indian philosophy is still scholastic; it has not yet had its Descartes or its Bacon.

The movements which have arisen in later centuries have been of various kinds, revolts from mere formalism, intellectual and religious, and from caste-prejudices and oppression. They have rarely if ever risen to eminence with regard to their philosophical productivity; they can hardly be said to have directed themselves to philosophical reflection. The vast masses of the population of India, including to a very large extent the so-called intellectuals, have continued in a condition of intellectual inertia.

There have been influences at work in later thought in India which it is well we should recognise. For example, the influence of Islam has been felt in movements such as the rise of Sikhism and of the Kabir-Panth, emphasising a

monotheistic attitude. On the other hand it is probable that Hindu thought has tended to strengthen mystic strains in Islam. Both Islam and Christianity had a large share in leading to the type of thought found in the Brahmo Samaj. These are merely suggestive examples of the different forces at work moulding our intellectual life.

The student of philosophy in India definitely requires to make an adequate study of the philosophy of the West. While he may not embark upon it with the object of systematic comparison of East and West, as is suggested by M. Masson-Oursel in his *Comparative Philosophy*, the main steps of the history of philosophy should be compared. If that is done, I think we shall see ample justification for our view that strictly Indian philosophy still remains in the same sort of position as Western scholasticism. If that is so, then we have much to learn from those later stages of Western thought which have enabled it to escape from scholastic formalism and stagnation. We have to learn the nature of its critical, analytical, and inductive methods and to train ourselves to apply them.

The study of later Western philosophy will reveal to us to how great an extent it has used inductive methods. This constitutes a distinct contrast with the essentially deductive character of prevailing Indian philosophical thought. As a consequence of this inductive method—according to which facts are studied in search for any principles which may describe them or their relations—philosophy in the West calls for attention to that wide and varied knowledge which is systematised in the sciences. Indian philosophical thinkers, instead of occupying themselves merely with the interpretation of ancient *śāstras*, need to embark upon study of these natural sciences as a part of their instruction and training.

What we have to look for, therefore, in the study of philosophy in India to-day is knowledge of both Indian and Western philosophy and science, some understanding of their methods and some ability to apply them. From such two-sided education we should hope for genuine philosophical advance. There are different ways in which this may be promoted. On the basis of such training Indian scholars may restate the problems of philosophy, and endeavour to solve them in modern terms. This has one disadvantage: apparently it does not preserve a continuity of Indian philosophical thought. It cannot have that close association with life in India which is so much needed. A more satisfactory way for Indians on Indian soil is to investigate the real meaning and value of those ideas in India's philosophic past which still form the intellectual heritage of Indians in general.

Gentlemen, this is the call which I would make to-day to those assembled in this Congress, and to the great multitude of students scattered among the teeming masses of India: standing in line with Indian tradition, with Indian sentiments in your hearts, with the love of India in the present and an ardent desire for its future, with a knowledge of its past, on this basis with all the acumen and logical precision that you may learn from the West investigate philosophically the problems of your own culture and civilisation, and the problems of wider humanity as related to the conditions in which we in this generation live in India.

Let us turn for a short time to that important side of philosophical reflection which concerns itself with morality. Within recent years several books have been published on the ethics of India, mainly historical. A systematic critical and constructive study is still awaited. I shall not occupy

your time with detailed replies to the contentions that Indian philosophy gives no basis for ethics, or that Indian ethics logically gives no place for genuine social morality. Every educated Indian knows that there is a moral *dharma*, that there is a *nīti śāstra* *. Every educated Indian knows that in traditional Indian systems of thought there are important ideas relating to moral life, such as those of *pravṛtti* and *ni-vṛtti*,† the *āśramas*,‡ and the various paths to *moksha* §. Every educated Indian knows that the end or ideal of human life, *purushartha*, includes what is discussed in *artha śāstra*, in *dharma-śāstra*, and in *kama-śāstra*. In *artha-śāstra* social and political organisation with its rights and duties receives due consideration. *Dharma-śāstra* includes both moral and religious requirements. *Kama śāstra* is concerned not simply with sex, as is too often imagined by irresponsible youth, but with human life in a wide sense, especially that which finds satisfaction in the Arts.

In the consideration of the moral life philosophy is concerned with what is intimately related with social advance, here the influence of philosophy on practical life should be real. An Indian philosopher should ask: What is the true meaning of these ideas of Indian ethics? Upon what does their authority depend? These questions must inevitably lead to others: Are these ideas at present misunderstood and misrepresented, with bad effects on social life? If so, in what manner ought they to be interpreted and expressed in order to promote social advance? By all means let us learn what earlier philosophical thinkers have said, but before all let us cultivate a genuine philosophic attitude.

* I.e. a way of life and a code of Ethics

† Action and Inaction

‡ The four stages into which Hinduism divides man's life

§ Salvation from transmigration: realisation of the supreme deliverance

towards these ideas, and not be satisfied with mere dogmatic repetition.

To what conclusions must we come, for example, if with a truly philosophical independence and acumen, if with sound logic, we examine the ideas associated with *varnāshrama*? The ways in which the Indian doctrine of the division of social activities has been and still is interpreted, the prejudices and false sentiments which have gathered around it, have been the greatest obstacle to social advance for centuries. Widespread enlightenment from genuine philosophical reflection on this subject would bring a liberation, a freedom to Indian social life which to-day is in fetters. Is there a more important task at the present time than to free men's minds from the false ideas which bind them body and soul? Whose duty is it to guide those striving for liberation, if it is not essentially that of the philosophers of our day and generation? You have here a task which, in my opinion, is of far greater importance, of far greater social significance, than the majority of those upon which most of you are actually engaged.

Gentlemen, let us keep in mind the important truth, that mere negation has little force in face of error. A false interpretation is most effectively overcome by the statement and defence of a correct one. I think we must admit that it is incredible that the principle of social groups should have been so widely accepted for so long, if there were not something true and valuable in it. The belief that social groups have their source in God* contains the truth that some are by nature, that is in part by their original endowments, fit

* The Purusha Sukta Hymn of the Rigveda is recited daily at Vaishnava Altars: From the head of Primeval Man God rode Brahmins, from his chest Kshatriyas, from his thighs Vaishyas and from his feet Shudras.

to perform certain functions in society, while others are fit to perform other functions. If one wishes one may call this an aspect of the divine organisation of life. It is an entire misinterpretation and misrepresentation to maintain that the place a person is to take in society is to be decided once for all by the circumstances of birth. To say that there is a division of labour among the members of a society is a reasonable statement of a fact and a necessity, but to say that this must conform with physiological and ethnological divisions is to expound a quite unjustifiable dogma. Such an arbitrary and artificial method is detrimental to society and a hindrance to social advance, which requires that a man should do that work, perform that function, for which he is most fit. It may be true that owing to conditions of heredity and environment the members of a family through successive generations acquire a fitness for the same social function. That, however, is no justification for the establishment of artificial barriers; the fitness of each generation must be tested and proved for itself. I will not attempt to point out here the multifarious ways in which group privileges have been artificially bolstered up. To the critical eye of philosophical reflection all these must eventually reveal their irrationality and their want of any satisfactory basis. In the performance of this task of social liberation, philosophy has the assistance of changing economic conditions. On grounds of philosophical reflection and in view of economic forces, artificial communal distinctions can be broken down for the general social advantage. Philosophical reflection may lead us to the view that government might be most efficiently carried on by representation of the various interests and activities of the people, rather than by communal representation.

tation, as the way of knowledge of the scriptures, or more profoundly as the way of a mystical vision of God. Whatever philosophy may have to say to this—and it will beware of superficial rejection—it must in our day raise the question as to the importance of that form of knowledge which we have come to call “modern science”. If we reflect on the alleviation of human misery, on the promotion of human health and joy in living, which we owe already to modern science, we shall see at once how important it is that *jñāna-mārga* shall include this, that in short it should be so interpreted as to refer to knowledge in its fullest sense.

Even the doctrine of the path of devotion, *bhakti-mārga**, is capable of a narrower and of a wider interpretation. It may be represented as a purely individualistic ecstasy of the soul in relation to, or it may be made the form of an enthusiasm of, universal love, which, adopted as an ideal, may help in overcoming those antagonisms between different communities which are the greatest hindrance to social progress.

If we think of the root meaning of the term *yoga*, to join, unite, we may suggest that for complete realisation we must unite all the paths. There must be many-sided activity, inspired by love and enthusiasm, and guided by knowledge; activity, devotion, knowledge are all at all times necessary in their right proportion. So, again, the individual should duly perform the requirements of the different *āśramas*. If a man is fully to perform his duty as a householder he must find that he has much to do for the general social welfare. The hermit and the ascetic tend to become merely egoistic, neglecting those social activities essential to social progress. Our existence in this world implies that the affairs of this world deserve adequate attention.

* *Bhakti* means personal devotion to God.

One aim of philosophy is to seek for comprehensiveness and consistency. An examination of Indian ethical ideas from this point of view should help us to eradicate misconceptions hindering social advance. I think, for example, of the different ways in which, with a modern philosophical attitude, we might work out the implications of the doctrines of the *gunas* *. On the one hand we might treat these as representing moods and dispositions, contrasting the joy of selfless, *sattvik*, action with the *tamasik* pain and gloom associated with selfishness. Or we may look at these in another way, and ask. Is not the condition of society, permeated with and moulded on unreasonable ideas of caste, lacking in rational organisation? Is it not essentially chaotic from the point of view of what is required for social advance? In short, is it not fundamentally *tamasik*? May we not find in a political order imposed upon India—an order which as being order is so far beneficial—something of the *rajasik*? Can we escape from admission of the amount of selfishness with which it is too often associated? Order, peace, efficient administration, these are all of very great value, and should be fully appreciated. But true social advance is concerned with the ideals which are to be attained, and these should be free from any taint of exploitation whether of individual by individual, caste by caste, or nation by nation. In short, again, may we not find in the idea of the *sattvik*, philosophically interpreted, a fundamental principle of social advance?

What I have so far said, Gentlemen, is by way of suggestion and illustration. I would show that Indian thought has ideas of its own which have grown up among us and have a living hold upon us. It is through these ideas that one

* Constituent parts, qualities

most easily and most intimately comes into touch with Indian social life. It is these ideas, therefore, which call for consideration by Indian thinkers of to-day. You have to train yourselves to disciplined thought with the methods of the East and the West, and you have to interpret these ideas in a modern philosophic spirit. I need hardly remind a gathering such as this, that *yoga* as equanimity of mind is fundamentally different from an attitude of indifference with which it is too often confused. I need hardly remind you that if the doctrine of *āśramas* were fully appreciated and the duties of each social function and period of life sincerely undertaken, the people of India would not suffer that intolerable drag upon its social advance which exists in its vast army of so-called ascetics. I need hardly remind you that if the principle of true charity were carefully and widely expounded, that indiscriminate charity—upon which these beggars depend—would largely cease.

In the West in our generation psychology has made vast strides, and is becoming a subject of study absorbing almost all the attention of those devoted to it. In India I imagine that for long psychology will have to be but one of that group of subjects which our Professors of Philosophy are called upon to study and to teach. I mention it here, because I believe that in our ancient literature we have a wealth of observation on the springs of conduct. Much of this is spasmodic and disconnected and not apparently arrived at by experimental methods such as are common to-day in the West. But it seems more than probable that they have been arrived at by long-practised methods of concentrated introspection which in this field may be of greater value than the mechanical means the West strives to apply. The field of psychology is already in the West, and

for some time has been a battle ground between introspective and externally experimental methods. The latter tend there to attract the greater support. But do not allow yourselves to be unduly influenced by what is done or thought in the West, just because it is Western. And to others it is also necessary to say: Do not cling to anything simply because it is Eastern. In the present connection however, I do think that it is worth while urging you to study the Indian tradition, which in regard to the psychological is introspective. The Indian mind may be peculiarly adept at this type of investigation, and by it may make genuine contributions to knowledge. I am glad that Dr S. K. Maitra in his book on the *Ethics of the Hindus* has given much space to the discussion of the springs of conduct as understood in Hindu thought. Psychological and philosophical discussions of this kind should eventually do much to correct the socially harmful impression which still lingers in some quarters, that the so-called law of *karma* is a form of fatalism and of pessimism. Social advance depends on the ever present conviction that man has the capacity to mould social life to greater conformity with our ideals, and upon a rational belief in the triumph of the good.

What, however, is the good? What are or should be our ideals? These are the questions which I know you must at some time have asked yourselves, and which your students time and again ask you. These are questions which also in one form or another present themselves to all. These, indeed, may be said to express the fundamental problem. And at once it may be maintained by some, as it has often been maintained, that the solution proposed and the attitude adopted by the West is quite different from that taught by the East. If we may say so, in general terms, it is suggested

that the ideal of the Western philosopher is a luxurious study, a stable income of no mean proportions, and perchance also access to elaborately equipped laboratories for investigations into the constitution and qualities of matter. And the ideal Indian philosopher is by contrast mistakenly conceived as a recluse living in the forest as free as possible from physical distractions and social enjoyments, contemplating the ineffable Spirit, with purely individualistic aim. Paying no attention to a due proportion to individual and social claims, such a one asks what philosophy, occupied with this ideal of divine contemplation, has to do with social advance. Here, Gentlemen, in this question as to the nature of the "good", we have the question of questions. What answer or answers can we give, we whose task and privilege it is to find and to teach to others the nature of the ideal at which we should aim?

Let us divest ourselves of the idea, not infrequently spread abroad in India, that Western philosophy is fundamentally materialistic. The reality of the spiritual nature of man is recognised in manifold ways and is constantly asserting itself. The supposed differences between Indian and Western philosophy are ultimately not so great as they at first appear, but they are often misunderstood. It is for you, Gentlemen, many of whom have had the advantages of a study of Western philosophy and combined with this a contact with Indian ideals in this land of ours, it is for you to study this subject and to guide public opinion. The time that is available for me here is too short to enter into detail, but I would like to indicate my own way of meeting this apparent opposition of ideals.

In the end, Gentlemen, this problem resolves itself into a consideration on the one hand of the facts and things of

the actual world in which we live, and on the other of that world of ideas which constitutes for us a realm of ideals with which we would like this world of things to conform, or in which we feel more satisfied and at peace. Now, I ask: What has Indian philosophy said concerning this world of things? Has it not said that it is *māyā*, illusion? It is a world of appearances, a world of finites as distinguished from the infinity of the ultimately real. Does this involve that there is a short path to the real and the infinite, from *jīvātman* to *paramātman*,* by the negation of this world of appearances? Is that a truly philosophical interpretation of the Indian standpoint? I venture to think that it is not. The ultimate is not described simply by *neti, neti*,† but, in addition, by the twofold implication of the saying: *Tat tvam asi*.‡ The ultimately real does not shut out any of its appearances, but it must not be thought of as solely any one of them. Ought we not to seek the philosophical significance of that other term, *līlā*?§ Ought we not to try to see in the richness of the details of this world varied expressions of the joy of existence? It is thus that I would treat this problem. I would say that there is no short path to reality by the neglect of the things of this world. But I would say that in intellectual research, in the various forms of art, in the diversity of social relationship, in fact in all that we may call culture and civilisation man is coming into a wider and more comprehensive contact with reality, with the ideal, through these different forms of expression of itself.

Social advance, in its widest sense, therefore, as I look upon it, is essentially bound up with the broadening and

* From mortal to Immortal.

† Not thus, not thus—It is ineffable.

‡ Thou art It—It is realisable.

§ Play or sport of God in His universe.

deepening of our spiritual life. Some of the tasks that are involved are irksome tasks of technical knowledge and manual labour, which call for great patience and great effort. With these the philosopher does not often concern himself. But the philosopher ought never to forget that upon him rests the task of making men conscious that these things are worth doing for the ideal which thereby may be achieved. The whole development of civilisation and culture is not materialistic, it is an increasing triumph of the spirit of man following the ideal in conquest over the physical and the conditions of nature of primitive man. The philosopher should endeavour so to grasp and to express ever new aspects of the ideal in order that men engaged in the practical affairs of social advance may be rightly guided.

It is true that religion has indeed been and is more constantly present to the Indian mind than to that of the West. This is in large measure due to the Indian's neglect of practical affairs, to his want of continued and varied activity. If, however, we have to try to rectify this attitude of the people of India, it does not mean that we should be justified in neglecting to study the religious side of Indian life. Philosophy should have a purifying influence here as in other spheres. Further, if we may learn from the practical wisdom of the West, we may be able to repay our debt by contributions to the religious advance of mankind.

In conclusion, while thanking you again for your kind invitation and for your patient attention, I would say how inadequate I feel my scattered remarks to be to the vast problems and tasks which the study of philosophy and its relation to social advance opens up. I have wished to impress upon you the great need of the freedom of philosophical reflection in the social life of India in our genera-

tion. I have wished to impress upon you that your position and duty in society involve something more than to pursue what is intellectually interesting. You must be liberators of the minds of this generation. You must be its enlightened guides to prosperity and happiness. Bearing this in mind I cannot leave this subject without reference to the need of original works on philosophical and practical subjects in our Indian vernaculars. The vernacular literature which is being produced is in the main open to the criticism that it does not conform with the best modern scholarship. Translations of classical Sanskrit works, and popular expositions by insufficiently educated men, are not what we most need. This task of producing original works in the vernaculars of India is one for genuine scholars, well equipped with knowledge and skill, with an education which combines the best of East and West. Gentlemen, until the fruits of your intellectual efforts are given for the nourishment of the great masses of our fellow-men, until their lives are permeated with the light that you more than others are expected to bring, your philosophy can have little effect upon social advance.

CIX

At a Durbar held in recognition of services rendered at the time of Flood Relief in Baroda, 9th April 1928.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have asked you all to be present here to-day at this public recognition of the service of those who during the floods of July last laid aside all thoughts of their own safety and ease, and attempted to save the lives and property of others. Their spirit of self-sacrifice is beyond all praise; but it gives me much pleasure to express my appreciation of it.

While in Europe, Her Highness and I heard with deep distress of the loss of life and property caused by the floods. The first news of the disaster came suddenly, and in a highly exaggerated form. You can well imagine our feelings when we were informed that the whole of the city had been wiped out, and that the toll levied by the flood in its first onrush was nearly a thousand lives. The lull that followed this overwhelming news, the suspense, when there was no definite news for nearly a week, was even more distressing than the first news of the occurrence. The first cable with authentic news which came from Baroda, while informing us that things were not so bad as had been depicted, still told us of lives lost and property destroyed on an unprecedented scale. As soon as I received this, I cabled to the Minister and Council my desire that relief measures should be organised speedily and in the most sympathetic spirit. I am glad to say that my wishes have been carried out in a liberal manner.

This is not the occasion to go into the details of the measures adopted for the immediate relief of the sufferers, and for the reconstruction of the damaged areas. That work is now nearing its end. It has been an immense task. But the indomitable courage and the spirit of helpfulness displayed by the people in the areas affected, together with close co-operation between official and non-official agencies, have successfully accomplished it. I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the good work of all the agencies that have been working in this cause. I have specially learnt with pleasure and pride that my people from the Navsari and the Ameli districts have contributed most generously for the relief of distress in the other two districts. This is an outward manifestation of the spirit that binds us all together, of the bonds of common

citizenship of the State. I must also thank the various bodies outside the State—especially in Bombay—who helped my people with money and workers during the difficult days that followed the floods.

Dire as this calamity was, great though the loss, it has shown the resourcefulness, courage and quiet heroism of the people of the State; it has demonstrated that there is a bond of sympathy among all its peoples; and it has shown that all of us—official and non-official—to whatever caste or creed we belong, can, by joint action, achieve great and quick results.

Let us dwell on one important lesson, the truth of which has been emphasised by the floods. The prosperity of the State rests on that of the rural population. It has been my lifelong endeavour to promote this. The organisation of the agricultural department to teach ryots improved methods of agriculture, of the co-operative department to finance their needs, and, above all, of a system of free and compulsory education calculated to open their minds and make them receptive of new ideas, were all measures which had this aim in view. Further, I have introduced legislation against certain evils of our system which tend to sap the vitality of the race. But all these measures will bear full fruit and produce a community, intelligent, economically strong and self-reliant only if the more enlightened will work among the people and spread sound ideas among them. The American philosopher, William James, has lately raised the question of a moral equivalent for war in days of peace. The floods have brought into prominence such moral values. What are their equivalents in normal times? The virtues I have already mentioned, which enabled us to achieve such good results, are equally necessary in our

everyday life. Our social and other weaknesses are even a greater menace to the life and well-being of the people than such natural calamities; and it is as necessary to save men and women from their consequences as it was to save them from being carried away or isolated during the floods. My advice, therefore, to the young men and women who worked in a spirit of selflessness in the days of the floods, is that they continue to display those qualities.

I will now ask the Dewan Saheb to announce the names of the recipients of awards. A committee under the presidency of my son, Prince Dhairyashil Rao, chose the persons to be honoured in this matter. The committee was sensible—as I am—that recognition or mention of the services of all those who worked in the cause of humanity was not possible. Many acts of bravery and self-sacrifice have remained unnoticed and unreported. All equally deserve praise for the spirit they displayed, and equal merit attaches to those whose work has not come to public notice. We do not forget “the unknown warriors” of peace as of war.

CX

At a Children's Gathering at Navsari, 29th December 1928.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—From the report just made by the Vidyadhikari,* steady progress in education seems to have been maintained in the Navsari district. Though the forest tribes constitute one-fourth of its population, the district stands third in the order of literacy in the four districts of the State. This is mainly due to the presence of the enterprising Parsis, Bohras and Anavils. But the problem of

* Commissioner of Education.

bringing the backward forest tribes within the fold of literacy still remains, and I wish the department to attack it in the best way possible.

In one of my early speeches I remember to have said that we could not do better than educate all our people. This is absolutely necessary for the realisation of my ambition for the future of my people. It was with this object in view that I made primary education free and compulsory more than twenty years ago. Though the scheme has had a measure of success, it cannot be said that it has yet been fully successful. The results are naturally most satisfactory in the urban area, but it is in the rural areas that success is most to be desired. Communities engaged in trade and learned professions will take advantage of schools whether education is compulsory or not. But backward communities like the Kolis, Bhils, Vagharis, and Dublas, would hardly have got even the present small percentage of literates among them had it not been for compulsory education.

In 1926 I ordered a special inquiry to be made into the causes hindering the spread of primary education. The chief reasons were, first, lack of interest and zeal on the part of the people and of local bodies in enforcing the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act; and second, the apathy and indifference of illiterate parents of the agricultural and labouring classes, who prefer to pay fines rather than send children to school. Such a state of things cannot continue if real success in primary education is to be achieved. No Government can spread primary education by the constant application of the special power provided by the Compulsory Act. Unless municipalities, district boards and *taluka* and village *panchayats** seriously take up the subject,

* Councils of five.

and enforce the provisions of the Act, the progress of primary education is delayed

The Kaliparaj population of your district lives in such small and scattered villages in the jungle area that it is impossible to provide all of them with schools, or to enforce the Primary Education Act in that area. I am glad to learn from the Vidyadhikari that these poor and backward people are gradually coming to realise the need of education for their children, and schools for small groups of villages are being opened where they are likely to be utilised. More than thirty years ago we started special schools with free boarding houses for the Kaliparaj people at Songadh, Vyara and Mahuva, and it is the duty of those of the community who are educated to create in their people a desire for education so that all of them may benefit by what is being done by Government.

Primary schools, the base of the edifice of education, ought to be strengthened as much as possible. It is here that all the people of the State, rich and poor, are required to receive that education which the State deems essential for their welfare, and has therefore made compulsory. To starve elementary education and to fatten secondary and university education would frustrate the very object of making elementary education compulsory. It is for this reason that three-fourths of the money spent on education is devoted to primary schools.

It has been said that because of the routine way in which most of the village occupations are carried on, little literacy is demanded, and what little has been learnt is soon forgotten. Fortunately for us, this is less to be feared in our State, as owing to our network of libraries a habit of reading has developed in villages. In addition to the more formal

libraries, boxes of books are sent round, and foster the taste for reading in villages.

There are many other problems relating to education on which I should like to speak. But that must be reserved for some other occasion.

I am pleased to see so many children gathered together. Their songs, garbhas and dialogues were excellent, and must have taken several days' preparation. I thank them and their teachers for the entertainment they have provided. The more of such co-operative play we can have the better for us all. The right use of leisure is one very important aim of education.

CXI

At the Opening of the Navsari Waterworks, 29th December 1928.

MR PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE NAVSARI MUNICIPALITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It was in 1921 that I laid the foundation stone of the waterworks for your town. I am glad to find that, in spite of difficulties and delays in the execution of the work, it has at last been finished. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that I have come here to open the waterworks, so that the inhabitants of your beautiful town may have the blessings of copious supplies of pure water, for which they have long been waiting.

As you know, water is an essential constituent of all animal organisms and is found in varying proportions in every organ of the body. It would therefore seem hardly necessary to remind any intelligent person of the importance of drinking pure water. Water that looks clear to the naked eye and is not offensive to the taste often contains dangerous germs or minerals in solution. For your present supply you have

a few good wells, like the one near Lunsikui, outside the town, but most of the wells within the town are brackish. These wells get contaminated by the washings or soakings from cesspools and privies; they are often a source of epidemics. In many of our towns and villages, the cesspools and privy vaults feed the wells, and when ordinary hygienic precautions are so glaringly and culpably neglected the wells feed the graveyard.

It is because of my firm conviction that a copious supply of good and pure water is necessary for the health and happiness of my people that I have inaugurated a scheme of waterworks in the State. In order to encourage municipalities and *panchayats* to come forward with contributions to such important works of public utility, rules were first framed in 1912 under which one-fourth of the cost was given free provided that the municipalities or *panchayats* concerned contributed the rest. In case they had no funds to contribute their quota at once, it was arranged to give them a loan repayable by easy instalments in thirty years. The limit of one-fourth of the cost as State help was subsequently raised to one-half in 1920. The rules were further liberalised in 1925, and now Government undertakes to give from one-fourth to three-fourths of the total cost according to local circumstances, while the period of repayment of loans is extended to fifty years.

Advantage is gradually being taken of this policy, and by this time, in addition to the capital city of Baroda, where waterworks costing nearly 55 lakhs were provided free about forty years ago, we have waterworks provided from Government gifts and loans at Patan, Mehsana, Sojitra, Bhadran, Sinore, Sankheda and Kathor; and two are under project at Visnagar and Variav. In a few places with a poor

population and bad climate such as Songadh and Vyara, waterworks have been built solely at Government cost, on condition that the *panchayat* pays for the working, and establishes a depreciation fund for changing the outfit when necessary.

Smaller villages have not been neglected. For them special rules were framed in 1916, under which a village which collects one-fourth of the needful expenditure can have the rest from the *mahal* and district *panchayats* and the Government as a free gift. About twelve villages, including Kholvad in your district, have already taken advantage of these rules, and provided themselves with small but efficient waterworks. Other villages will, it is hoped, follow their example and in time there will be many villages with waterworks of their own.

In many places good drinking water is available in the bowels of the earth; all that is necessary is to bore and for this ample provision is made and full facilities are given. Many villages in the Chanasma *taluka* of the Kadi district were formerly among those which suffered most from deficient water, but boring operations have within the last few years given them a copious supply of good water, from artesian or subartesian tube-wells.

But waterworks alone, without a proper system of drainage, would prove a curse instead of a blessing. The inauguration of a water-supply necessitates up-to-date drainage works, which must be provided either along with or immediately after the waterworks. These drainage works are also very costly, and therefore we give free gifts and loans for their construction on the same liberal scale as for the waterworks. Your drainage-scheme is ready, and I am glad to know that it will be carried out without delay.

Yours is one of the oldest municipalities in the State, and in recognition of the good work that it is reported to be doing, I have given it the privilege of having an elected non-official president. But though elected non-official presidents may be good guides and advisers, they cannot be expected to look after executive work. It is essential that the municipality with an elected non-official president should have a chief officer of suitable status for executive and supervisory work. But you do not seem to have engaged one yet. I must therefore ask you to appoint a chief officer without further delay, as with the waterworks and drainage, the work of collection of rates and taxes will increase beyond the capacity of your present staff. In your address you have made a request that your electorate be increased. The question will be carefully considered when it comes before me through the proper channel.

India with its *panchayats* has been the parent of modern municipalities. So far as their civic administration was concerned, ancient Indian cities were surprisingly modern. That well-known authority on ancient India, Prof. Mukerjee of the University of Lucknow, speaking of Pataliputra, the capital of the Mauryan Empire, says that it had a municipal council of thirty members with six standing committees of five members each, charged with the duties of looking after industrial arts, entertaining foreigners, maintaining records of births and deaths, superintending trade and commerce, inspecting all manufactured articles of food sold in the market, and collecting rates and taxes. Such municipal regulations obtaining in India three centuries before Christ show a most modern conception of civic needs and well-being, and compare favourably with present day administration. But as in other matters, so in this,

ancient ideals have been lost sight of, and it behoves us now, with our modern education, to see that they are not only revived but modernised.

You have already provided your town with electric light, and the waterworks to be opened to-day will add another amenity for happy and healthy life. Cities in America and Europe go further, and supply transport, baths, libraries, museums, art galleries, public theatres, cinemas, wash-houses, playgrounds for children and adults, milk for babies and many other things of the kind. It would be utopian to expect you at this stage of your finances to provide your town with any of these. But there is one thing which imperatively demands your attention, and I would like to say a few words about it.

The primary need of a town or city is sanitation. Cities are inevitably far more crowded than rural areas, and this very fact demands the organisation of special measures of sanitation. The city government may plan these measures, but no city government can carry out measures of public utility effectively unless individual householders actively and religiously co-operate with the corporation in the execution of these plans. This co-operation to be effective must be voluntary; and to make it voluntary every householder must be made to realise and remember, by intensive propaganda work, that his freedom from preventable diseases and epidemics depends upon how he acts. "Love thy neighbour as thyself" is not merely a high moral injunction or spiritual appeal. It is also the foundation of all social and civic service. I am glad to learn that you have in your town a sanitary association, founded twenty years ago by a public-spirited lady of that go-ahead Tata family, which has been working on these lines.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have detained you long, and have no wish to detain you longer. It gives me sincere pleasure and real joy to open your waterworks; and in opening this valve I hope that these waterworks may ever remain efficient and effective, and add to your health, happiness and prosperity.

CXII

On unveiling the marble bust of the late Mr R. D. Tata, Navsari, 29th December 1928.

The late Mr R. D. Tata was a friend of mine. It was at his suggestion and with his help that I started a chair for French in Baroda College. Though residing in Bombay, he always cared for the well-being of his fellow-citizens of Navsari, and, from time to time, gave liberal donations to foster education in his native town. It is in the fitness of things that his many friends and admirers have contributed towards the beautiful bust which you have asked me to unveil. I have great pleasure in doing so, and I hope that it may always remain as a memorial of his good name, a tribute of your esteem and regard for him, and an image for admiration and honour by the students of this school, which is named after his father.

CXIII

At a Banquet to celebrate the wedding of Prince Pratapsinh, 5th January 1929.

(i) The health of H.M. the King-Emperor

I rise to propose the toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

In proposing this toast, it is not possible to dispel from our minds the acute suspense and anxiety which we, in

common with the rest of the Empire, are experiencing to-day on account of His Majesty's protracted illness. It is, however, a consolation to all of us here, and, indeed, to the whole of the Empire, that the malady is being successfully combated, and that we may well hope that His Majesty will soon be on the high road to recovery.

On an occasion like this, connected with an auspicious event in my own house, it is but natural that my thoughts should dwell on the long-standing and intimate ties of allegiance and of personal loyalty, regard and esteem which link my family and myself with the throne and the person of His Majesty. His Majesty symbolises the unity of purpose and aim of all the separate political entities in his far-flung dominions. There are, in the British Commonwealth, many varieties of constitution, many stages of development, and many differences of immediate outlook and purpose, but behind and above every such difference there is the close-knit common endeavour, and the hope of a common and glorious future. It is my fervent hope, as it is of everyone who has the welfare of the Empire at heart, that this association should grow from strength to strength, so that the various component parts may evolve to the highest stage possible for each without jeopardising the ideal underlying the Empire of which he is the emblem and epitome.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I drink to the health of His Majesty and the prosperity of his Empire. May he soon be fully restored to health!

(ii) Reply of His Highness to the Toast proposed by
Col. Burke, the Resident at Baroda

I need not say how sincerely grateful I am to you, Col. Burke, for the very kind manner in which you have

proposed my health, and to all of you for the cordiality with which you have received the toast. I thank you most warmly.

It is now my pleasure and privilege to propose the health of my guests.

It affords me much gratification on this day of rejoicing to be surrounded by so many old and distinguished friends, many of whom have come here at much personal inconvenience, and have thus given ample proof, if proof were needed, of their warm personal regard for me.

To Col. Burke, I extend a most cordial welcome. To me, he is not only the accredited agent of the Government of India, but also a valued personal friend.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay has been kind enough to send me his congratulations and good wishes on this occasion, and it is a privilege to welcome his representative, Mr Martin. The pleasure I feel in his presence here to-day is increased by the fact that he is an old friend of mine, and that Mrs Martin has also come to take part in the festivities.

To His Highness the Maharaj-Rana of Jhalawar, I cannot adequately express my feelings of gratitude. An ideal Ruler and a nobleman of wide culture, he has honoured me with his friendship for many years, and I am deeply touched by his undertaking the long journey to Baroda, in spite of poor health, to share in my joy on this auspicious occasion. I thank him most sincerely and wish him long life and happiness.

His Highness the Raja Saheb of Baria is another friend whom it is a pleasure to welcome, and we are also very glad to have with us to-night the Raja Saheb of Sawantwadi.

To all of you, Ladies and Gentlemen, who have so readily

responded to my invitation and come here to-night, I accord my most hearty welcome and I wish all of you a happy and prosperous new year.

CXIV

On Opening the Baroda Musical Conference, 10th March 1929

When I came to the Durbar Hall this morning, I had no idea that I should be called upon to deliver a speech; but the praise which various speakers to-day have given me for the little I have done for the revival of music and other fine arts in my State demands a few words in reply.

Let me first disillusion you. I know little of music. I have made no systematic or scientific study of the subject, and I am no musician. Yet, I can and do appreciate its beauties, and it gives me great delight. When I am bed-ridden, I send for experts of the department of music to sing and play to me—at a little distance. “Distance lends enchantment to the ear”: and music is more attractive when it comes from an unseen source. I have often forgotten pain and trouble when completely under the spell of slow and sweet music.

The Rulers of Baroda have a fame of their own for the encouragement given to music; but when I ascended the throne, it seemed to me that the support given to music by Government had better be definite and systematic. Therefore, I founded a Music School in Baroda, and opened music classes in different places.

If you want to measure the value of the culture of a country, look to its fine arts. Music, painting, architecture are an index of a nation's civilisation; and it is my firm belief that the soul of a nation gets light and life from them.

Music makes life sweet and beautiful. It has the power

of melting hearts as well as of inspiring heroism. To encourage this useful art and to make my people love music, I have started schools in my State, and through them I have provided for its spread by training competent teachers and providing the instruments needed. But I must tell you that there has not been an adequate response to my scheme, though I do not enter into the details of the question why people have not taken due advantage of such measures; perhaps the teachers appointed there were not as honest, competent and conscientious as I wanted them to be. There is no need to suspect their motives, but our experts have a notorious trait. They guard their knowledge so jealously that they will not teach even their own pupils all that they know. This difficulty seems to be found everywhere; but the taste of the people is also partly responsible. Want of conscientiousness on one side and indifference on the other—these two evils have combined to prevent our young people from taking full advantage of their opportunity.

Whenever I return from Europe, I notice that my people do not enjoy life to the full. The pleasures and amenities of life which Nature gives to every individual equally and freely are denied to our people. It may be correct to say that for that the physical conditions of our country and the economic and industrial poverty of the people are partly responsible: but we should not forget that mental recreations caused by arts like music enable us to do our other work much better. Music is one of the recreations. I, therefore, appeal to you all to acquire knowledge of and to develop a taste for music, so that if it does not make you richer in worldly goods it will at least enable you to pass your leisure in delight and pleasure. With that object in view I have provided means of recreation and refreshment. My

efforts may not have been crowned with success, but I am optimistic, and I believe that disappointment is often followed by the joy of success

The Music School on the bank of the Sursagar Tank has been in existence for a number of years, and, Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe, with the help of the association which you to-day call into existence, you will be able to train public opinion, to create confidence, and will teach us all to appreciate the divine delight of music. I now declare this Conference open, and hope that its field of activity may be widened from day to day, and its aims may have their realisation. Music that is truly Indian is a noble heritage which we must not lose through neglect. It is intimately bound up with painting, and with the deepest sentiments of our people.

CXV

At the Jubilee Celebrations of the Granth-Prakashak Mandal,
Bombay, 10th January 1930

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—All will admire the contribution of 150 books to Marathi literature made during the last thirty-five years by the Granth-Prakashak Mandal. I am glad of the opportunity of publicly recognising some of its authors this evening.

I need not say how much interest I take in the spread of reading. My humble efforts in this direction have continued for the past forty years, during which I have often expressed myself on the subject. Spread of knowledge is the chief means to the uplift of a nation, and there are three ways—schools, libraries, and lectures. Free compulsory primary education has been in force in Baroda for the last

twenty years: most of our towns and villages are equipped with libraries: many a learned man is invited to deliver lectures; but all these efforts are wasted in the absence of good books in the vernaculars. The work of popular education cannot succeed unless there are good books on useful subjects readable by all.

It is a matter of delight to me that the need of imparting education through the mother-tongue is being universally felt; but the inadequacy of books on all subjects is evident. It is difficult to teach all subjects through the vernaculars; in the case of scientific subjects, it is impossible without good text-books. So it is up to the professors and experts to write such books, or to translate freely and lucidly books in their special fields, and so free us from dependence on a foreign tongue. The translator must not only be an adept in the subject; he must have real interest in it, and must know how to make it clear and interesting. Translations made to order are clumsy and useless: what we need is vigorous and spontaneous working by masters of their subjects.

We cannot help translating scientific works from foreign languages; but the tendency to translate must be guided and even checked, or original authorship will give place to hack translations of foreign books. We must not be content with mere translation, but must try to produce original literature of a high order of merit, befitting our own high culture.

You are probably aware that my endeavours in this matter began long ago. In 1912 I set aside a sum of two lacs of rupees for the spread of vernacular literature, the scheme being to publish good books upon important topics. I am sorry that this scheme has not met with more success.

I do not think that the one-sided efforts of the State will be crowned with success without the co-operation of authors elsewhere. Our poverty prevents authors of the first rank being rewarded according to their deserts; but the best works of literature were not produced for the love of filthy lucre. Need I emphasise that self-sacrifice has an infinite value in this field? Men of genius do not live by bread alone.

We can be sure, however, that there is a lack of organisation of authors, publishers and printers in this country, and little can be accomplished without organisation. Works written by poor authors remain unprinted for want of money: the publishers languish for lack of good authors: the printer finds it necessary to print only small editions owing to lack of a public for good books; books have to be sold at a high price, and this affects the sales. It seems to me that a clear survey of the circumstances, and due organisation of all these workers, would save much money and labour.

The multiplicity of languages in our country too gives rise to many hindrances to the spread of literature. A universal scientific vocabulary is highly desirable in compiling scientific literature: writers in different languages must interchange words, not confine their vocabulary to one language.

Yet this is a makeshift arrangement: it is essential that the nation should have one common language to develop the feeling of nationality and unity, and to overcome those barriers.*

Our country badly needs books on the science of teaching. In Europe and America such works can be counted by thousands; and hundreds of periodicals discuss the pro-

* See pp. 706-9.

blems of education. Education being the foundation of civilisation, it is strange that our learned men and teachers have failed to supply more books of this class. Similarly, a supply of literature for children is most urgently needed. If subjects taught in the schools were taught with the help of more attractive books, the children would be more interested in learning. Teachers too are glad to receive illustrated and charming books of general knowledge. Compare what is available to the children of Europe and America with what is available to young India !

It has been a great pleasure to me to note the service rendered to the Marathi language by the Mandali, and especially by Mr Yande. I am very glad of the opportunity you gave me this evening to honour these learned authors. May I express the desire that your work of publishing books in Marathi may be more and more successful ! In no provincial spirit we must yet cultivate our main vernaculars, as well as develop a common tongue. Each will help the others: for Hindu—the obvious *lingua franca*—is closely related to Marathi, Gujrati, Bengali and other vernaculars which like it have a rich literature in certain fields, and await a new one in the special fields I have enumerated.

CXVI

At a Banquet to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Irwin, 21st January 1930.

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In proposing the toast of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I am moved to express our sense of thankfulness that he has now been restored to health after his long and critical illness.

May he long be spared to enjoy the love of his subjects, whose welfare he has so deeply at heart!

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I now rise to offer you the toast of the evening—the health of our illustrious guests, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin.

It is now more than forty years since I first had the pleasure of welcoming the representative of the Queen-Empress to my capital, and during those forty years Baroda has steadily upheld its alliance with, and has not swerved from its loyalty to, the Crown. During my long life I have witnessed many things—so many that I should weary you if I began to enumerate them. I have seen the struggle of the South African War, and the more terrible ordeal of the European War, and I have shared in the anxieties of the Empire at those great crises. I have seen India advancing along the road of self-government, and have rejoiced at the opportunity given to her to prove herself in the art of administration.

Here too in Baroda the fifty years of my rule have brought great changes. In my educational efforts, in the organisation of my State, in my measures for economic development, in my endeavours to achieve social improvement, I can fairly claim to have been guided during these fifty years solely by the desire for the prosperity of my people. To-day I am still working towards the same end. I am searching out new avenues of progress which have been revealed to us by modern science and modern thought, while at the same time trying to perfect enterprises already begun, and to profit by the lessons of experience. If I have not fully succeeded in all to which I have put my hand, I console myself with the thought that tradition and prejudice

their natural place by the side of the men. I do not speak here of political aspirations or of that wider emancipation of womankind which modern Europe is still witnessing. I am thinking rather of the more homely questions of motherhood, of female education, of relief to the sick and suffering. It is a movement especially dear to Her Highness the Maharani, and it is an added source of pleasure to her and to me that we are privileged to entertain as our guest one who has shown herself so sympathetic in all that specially belongs to her sex as Her Excellency the Lady Irwin. The torch has been banded on to her by eminent predecessors, and worthily she is bearing it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, before I sit down, let me express on behalf of all present our deep thankfulness that the dastardly attempt directed against the life of the Viceroy failed; we all hope that his life may long be spared to us and to the Commonwealth.

CXVII

* At a Durbar to invest Messrs Vaidya and Yande, 13th February 1930.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—You have recently listened to a series of interesting lectures, including that of Mr C. V. Vaidya. My object in addressing you now is to express publicly my appreciation of the service rendered by Mr Vaidya in the field of historical research. He has, as you know, published a monumental work on the history of mediæval India, and he is at present engaged in studying important questions relating to land-marks in the Vedic period on which there are differences of opinion among scholars. In the year 1925, I instituted a scheme for re-

lie deep, that human nature is weak, and that no Ruler, however unlimited his power, can "fashion" everything "nearer to the heart's desire".

We are once more on the edge of a crisis, and I pray God to give a right judgment to all those who have the destinies of India in their keeping. I am specially glad to acknowledge that, under Your Excellency's wise guidance, the importance of the Indian States is receiving fuller recognition than it has ever before received, and that their voice will be heard at the Conference which Your Excellency has called. All my life long, I have striven to uphold the dignity of the States, and their future has been my deep and abiding concern. We are proud of our ancient privileges, we are proud of our century-old alliance with the British Crown, and we earnestly hope that, whatever be the fate of India, those privileges and those friendly relations will in no wise be disturbed or altered. I would say, if I may venture to speak my mind, that the points which, in the new order of things to be, we hold as especially vital to our welfare are these: first, the need for the complete autonomy of the States in internal affairs; second, the strict observance of our treaties both in the letter and in the spirit; third, the establishment of an independent court of arbitration to which both sides can appeal as of right, and whereby all differences can be composed; and fourth, the devising of some means whereby the States will be able to speak with weight in all matters that are common to them and the rest of India. Long and anxious thought has convinced me that only so can the States enjoy their rightful place, and that only so will British India and the States advance together in quietness and confidence towards their appointed goal.

There is a stirring among the women of India to take

their natural place by the side of the men. I do not speak here of political aspirations or of that wider emancipation of womankind which modern Europe is still witnessing. I am thinking rather of the more homely questions of motherhood, of female education, of relief to the sick and suffering. It is a movement especially dear to Her Highness the Maharani, and it is an added source of pleasure to her and to me that we are privileged to entertain as our guest one who has shown herself so sympathetic in all that specially belongs to her sex as Her Excellency the Lady Irwin. The torch has been handed on to her by eminent predecessors, and worthily she is bearing it.

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cognising merit in literature, science and art, by the award of cash prizes and medals to eminent persons in those fields, and in 1928, our distinguished countryman, Dr Rabin-dranath Tagore, who is now in our midst, much to my gratification, permitted me to associate him with this scheme. This year, it gives me sincere pleasure to sanction under the scheme the award of a prize to Mr Vaidya together with an annuity payable during a period of three years. I hope that this will assist him to place before the world the results of the many-sided researches on which he is at present engaged. I also take this opportunity of investing him with the star of the Order which I founded last year, to mark my appreciation of eminence in letters.

I have also invited to-day to this place another gentleman to whose services in the cause of Marathi literature I should like to bear testimony. Only the other day I presided over the Jubilee celebrations of the Granth-Prakashak Mandali with which I have been connected since its foundation in the year 1895. The object of this association is to enrich Marathi literature by publishing works of merit. In this, Mr Damodar Savlaram Yande, who is a well-known publisher, has rendered valuable service.

In fact, had it not been for his public spirit and enterprise, many works expressive of the best elements of Marathi thought which are read to-day with admiration and profit by the Marathi-speaking world would not now be available with their special message to a widening circle of readers.

We welcome here to-day then both an author and a publisher who have achieved distinction. How inestimably richer is the world to-day by the association of these two branches of the literary art! It is a subject which has ever been close to my heart.

For many years it has been my policy and constant endeavour to promote the intellectual advancement of my people

In 1912, I appointed a Committee whose function is to select, with the aid of recognised experts, representative works in English and other languages, and to have them translated and published in the vernaculars by persons of experience and repute. Suitable financial provision was made by the State, and, while appreciating the results hitherto achieved, I am hopeful that means may be devised in the near future whereby the object which I have in view may be further advanced, we must aim at a still higher standard of efficiency and expedition in the work of translation and publication

In conclusion, I have pleasure in marking my appreciation of Mr Yande's services in the interest of Marathi literature by investing him with a medal of the Order to which I have already referred

I wish Mr Vaidya and Mr Yande many more years of useful activity in their respective spheres

CXVIII

At the Opening of the Pratapsinh Lake, 8th March 1930

The pleasant ceremony which I have to perform to-day in opening the lake which I have named "*Pratapsinh*" after the *Juvaraj** marks the achievement of the latest, though not, I hope, the last of the public works which I have undertaken for the good of Baroda

We owe the completion of this reservoir to Mr Gurtu, whose skill, especially in hydraulic engineering, has been

* Her apparent, a grandson of His Highness

very useful, and whom I am sorry to lose. A word of praise is due to Mr Sathe, the Waterworks Engineer, and his staff, and also to the contractors, the Tata Construction Company.

The object of this important work is to supplement the Ajwa works, known to you all as the Sayaji-Sarowar.

It was realised as early as 1884 by the designer of the Ajwa works, Mr Jagannath Sadashiv, that owing to the nature of the country (or, in more technical language, the run-off of the catchment) the supply in the Ajwa lake might, and probably would, fall short in case of successive years of drought. As you have heard from Mr Gurtu, an important and expensive affair of this kind can only be undertaken after the most careful inquiry, and upon expert opinion. The consequence was that it was not until 1926 that a scheme was finally approved, the result of which you see before you. The experience of last season, when the rains failed early, has already proved the value of this supplementary tank which kept the supply in the main lake practically up to its full level, and thus removed all anxiety for the coming hot weather.

When, now nearly forty years ago, I promised the people of Baroda City a supply of pure water, I said that I counted this above all the public works contemplated. It was my cherished desire to give my people abundance of pure water, and improved sanitation. I hope I have fulfilled the promises I then made: if it is not so, be assured that the spirit has been and still is willing, though sometimes capacity may lag behind desire.

As it has been my ideal to bring at least a rudimentary education to the doors of every village, so it has also been my ideal that every village should be supplied with good

water, which is the first requisite of health. The State has contributed largely towards this ideal. Between them the State and the Local Boards bear half the cost, the people contributing the rest, on the right principle that they should learn to help themselves. The task is a vast one; and it has not been made any easier by caste-custom. I have never willingly offended the scruples of any man. I have sought to keep alive such of our traditions as are worth keeping, but by persuasion, by precept, and by example I have tried to lead the people to abandon some of those externals which are outworn; and it is my earnest hope that soon we shall find the caste lion drinking from the same pool as the out-caste lamb, to the great advantage of all. People do not realise that when, to satisfy caste-prejudice, you have to duplicate wells in practically every village, the expense to the State is enormous. I am confident that the good sense of my people will sooner or later remove this blot upon the fair name of Baroda.

We have moreover had to contend, not merely with the multitude of villages but with natural difficulties. In parts of the Raj the water lies deep: in other parts we have found it nearer the surface, but it has not been fit to drink. But we have had much solid success to put against these partial failures. Year by year we are adding to the wells in the villages and in some of them pumping plants have been installed. Nor have we shirked the more expensive operation of boring. If in places we have been disappointed, in others our efforts have been rewarded by a continuous supply of excellent water, and that where water was a long-felt want.

Last, but by no means least, the first great effort to supply Baroda City with good drinking water has been followed by

many minor waterworks in the Raj. We have now such works in thirteen towns, of descriptions varying from the elaborate system of Patan to the comparatively modest equipment of Songadh. It was only in December 1928 that I had the satisfaction of opening the new works at Navsari, and shortly before that of laying the foundation-stone of similar works still to be realised in Visnagar. Kathiawar is a difficult problem, and the water which is so necessary to the Port of Okha seemed to be beyond our reach. But unwearying efforts will, we trust, result in at least a mitigation of the difficulty.

I do not speak to you in any spirit of boasting. I frankly confess that we have not done all that we should like to have done: we have sometimes been baffled in our attempts. It has sometimes been remarked of us Indians that we are prone to great enthusiasms which, like a blazing fire, burn themselves out and die away. But in a great enterprise of this kind spasmodic effort can never achieve much: it is only by understanding clearly what we want to do, and only by perseverance in doing it that we can hope to win any success.

In embarking upon a policy of irrigation we were perhaps too easily led astray by this amiable quality of enthusiasm. In those earlier years we had not sufficiently realised that there is a great deal more than the mere provision of water for land which is needed. Even in British India I do not think that the close connection of the departments of State in this matter had been fully grasped. The scientific study of agriculture, the nature and composition of the soil to be watered, the effect of forests upon the rainfall, the kind of crops which the ryots grow and their willingness to change those crops for others—these things and others were too

lightly considered, or were not considered at all. It was common experience that when water was provided, it was eagerly accepted, and it was thought that Baroda would be no exception. This hope unhappily has not been fulfilled. We did not fully grasp the difficulties of irrigation in a flat country, and on unsuitable soils; we were not alive to the obstacles that arise from a divided jurisdiction in the case of river-supplies; our machinery was defective, and whatever the reason, sufficient care was not shown either in executing the work, in consulting the wishes of the ryots, or in conferring with other departments concerned. We have spent about fifty-five lakhs on irrigation, and we have to admit that some at least of this large sum has been thrown away. The two major works in Baroda and Navsari contribute the lion's share (I might almost add the lioness' too) to the total irrigation of the Raj, and the revenue, which is the index of popularity, is less than the cost of maintenance. The Wadhvana project was begun as a relief work, and, as I pointed out at the time, in the stress of famine and in the need for ministering to the immediate wants of the people, men are inclined to disregard the future, especially if they are unprepared for so great a calamity as famine. We in Baroda are always in danger of being caught unprepared by famine, and works hastily improvised to meet the immediate need are sure to be wasteful. Prudence demands that we be forearmed against such a disaster. In this case it may be that the site of this reservoir was not judiciously chosen, and that the land immediately commanded is not well suited to irrigation. But recent inquiries have shown that with a larger storage of water we may be able to command a much larger area, and inquiries are being made as to the response we may expect from the people.

Similar inquiries in Navsari have shown that the Dosu-wada system is capable of great expansion. Irrigated rice which is so common in the great river-systems of India—in the Punjab, in Bengal, in Madras—is in the Raj a special feature of Navsari. The ryots have taken kindly to it, and the first difficulty of overcoming prejudice and conservatism has been conquered. The expansion of these larger systems requires very careful inquiry, and I need hardly remind you that these things cost money, and that when all has been said and done, it is not an easy matter to set apart the large sums necessary for such works.

The future of irrigation is then not without promise, and we may learn from our failures if we go the right way about it. Perseverance, thoughtful deliberation, patience and, above all, the will to succeed, coupled with careful and conscientious execution, will carry us through. Water is a good servant but a bad master. If you use it well, it will serve you well, but if you abuse it, it will take its revenge in a hundred unexpected ways.

You see, I do not disguise our disappointments, neither do I impute blame. The engineers of those times worked according to their lights, and to the best of their ability. That their work has not been as successful as could be wished is very largely due, as I have said, to the want of that knowledge which has become our later heritage. Let us not look back, but forward, and profit by our experience in shaping a realistic policy and in utilising to the best advantage such works as are worth preserving, and encouraging the wise use of the water.

We have made a beginning. We are investigating the vital problem of the drainage of fields, and have taken in hand the restoration of certain promising tanks. But if my

efforts at surface irrigation have not received their expected reward, in the very important branch of wells, I can claim more substantial results. Attracted as I was by the thought of giving water to the ryots, it was not difficult for me to realise that a vital part of such a policy was the encouragement of wells and the general use of subsoil water. I have steadily pursued this policy. I have always lent a willing ear to the demand of the people for advances to carry it out, and I have made liberal grants in the annual budgets of the Raj for the same purpose. Since the year 1886 upwards of 12,000 wells have been sunk with advances of over thirty lakhs, over 2000 old wells have been repaired with nearly three lakhs of such advances, and the more modern appliances of oil-engines, pumps and tractors have been financed to the extent of about two lakhs. Figures are dull reading and dull hearing, and I would not try your patience with any more of them; but these few speak for themselves and are, I think you will allow, testimony to the efforts that have been made to make use of our valuable subsoil resources.

The Public Works Department was originally a very small department. It is now one of the great spending departments, and its activities have grown beyond recognition. The germ of the department was to be found in the Imarat Karkhana of my predecessors. But you will hardly believe me when I tell you that when Sir T. Madhav Rao was Dewan, the establishment cost the paltry sum of 70,000 rupees a year. During the first ten years of my rule the cost of the establishment was under a lakh and a half. But the works grew and multiplied and, as time went on, it became necessary to reorganise the department. I took this matter in hand and the birth of the department, as we now know it, may be said to have dated from the year 1890. The

steady evolution of the department has proceeded on orderly lines until it has become one of the largest and most important branches of the State system.

Prominent among its activities has been the building programme of the last fifty years, and in the building policy which I have consistently followed, I have been guided by two main principles. Wherever a new institution has come into being it must be housed; but that evident necessity can be met in one of two ways. You can confine yourself strictly to practical needs and fill your city with barracks and warehouses with so many rooms and a roof over all. But that is not the way the world's great builders have taken. I have always tried to combine use with beauty, and while providing for the wants of the particular institution to make of its dwelling-place an adornment to the city. The grandeur of ancient Rome is reflected in the great buildings that are left to us; and the grandeur of the mediæval Rome in the splendid Church of St Peter. The soul of Paris speaks to you through the glory of her many noble buildings. Squalid towns make squalid men, and I should have done my people a great injustice if I had not borne in mind the cultural value of dignified buildings. We Indians claim—and justly claim—to be an artistic people. Hindu Princes and Muslim rulers alike have adorned the country with works of art according to their true genius, and their creations are not less admirable than the famous masterpieces of Europe. And so it has been my endeavour to beautify and adorn Baroda, so that you may have a city of which you can be proud, a city that can rouse your patriotism. Nor is it in buildings alone that I have worked to this end. In the lay-out of the city, in the widening of its streets, in the gardens of Laxmi-Vilas and Makarpura. in

the Public Park and in other play-grounds, in being or to be, I have kept this double object in view—their material use as contributions to health, and their æsthetic value as contributions to culture.

There are, of course, great public works in which æsthetic ideas can have little or no place. All the world over ports and docks are unlovely things. They reflect not the spiritual genius but the material prosperity of a people; they are the symbol of present progress and the earnest of future well-being. It is on this expectation that I built the Port of Okha, and in the short span of time that has passed since I declared it open in 1926 it has developed on very encouraging lines. There is every reason to hope that it has a bright future before it.

Railways were one of my earliest enthusiasms. In a country like Gujrat, where the making of roads is exceptionally difficult, and where for the same reasons the cost of maintenance must always be high if the roads are not to degenerate into inferior cart-tracks, I have always held that railways are to be preferred so long as the lie of the country allows them, so long as the cost is not prohibitive and so long as the return is likely to justify the large outlay. In 1875 the State owned one timid little line of nineteen miles. We have now 705 miles serving practically every part of the Raj—except the east of Navsari and the isolated taluka of Kodinar. The cost has been great. We have invested in our railways a capital of over 4½ crores, but the cost has not deterred us. Over four million people use the railway every year, and the tonnage of goods carried is upwards of six lakhs. Railways, they say, are commercial concerns, but subject to the limitations which I have already mentioned their value cannot be measured solely by the profits they

earn. They are for the convenience of trade and of the people, and they have a cultural value which cannot easily be defined. For, in every civilised country contact plays a large part in the development and advancement of the people. Free access brings a free interchange of ideas, and as we learn much from foreign travel, so we can and do learn much by travel at home. Primitive tribes will remain primitive so long as they are like frogs in a well, shut out from all contact with the greater world.

Do not, however, suppose that while pursuing a policy of railway building I am blind to the need for roads. Where railways exist roads are wanted to feed them, and I am glad that my Minister is undertaking and pushing forward the building of about 400 miles of such feeder roads. Roads too are required for the development of the forests, and a scheme to this end, suggested by Mr Stanley Rice*, will, I hope, shortly be put into operation.

I have thus lightly sketched the progress of public works in their main branches during the last fifty years. We have had failures and we have had successes, I am satisfied that the successes outweigh the failures. Much remains to be done. We have schools to build, irrigation sources to repair and to expand, drainage systems to begin or to complete, waterworks to multiply. Let us go on as we have begun. It is for me to control the policy, it is for my officers to advise and to execute, it is for the public, whom I have always taken into my confidence by publicly inviting criticism and suggestion, to do their share by telling us where the difficulties lie. In thus publishing my schemes it is my desire to obtain helpful suggestions which may lead my Government to modify—or even to abandon—their plans. Purely de-

* Author of the two volume Biography of His Highness

structive criticism is of little value, but a healthy public opinion will always command attention. In this spirit of hope and co-operation we shall accomplish much.

And now in declaring these works open, I am handing them into the keeping of the Yuvaraj, Pratapsinh, who has for some time past been learning the details of administration and will, I trust, soon be able to take a larger part in public affairs. It is my earnest desire that my people of Baroda City should not only have a supply of good water, but that in flood and drought they should rest secure in the knowledge that no great harm will come to them on the one hand, and that on the other hand they will have water in abundance. To this end I have put my hand to the enterprise, and I fervently hope that it will prove a blessing not only to this generation, but to all generations to come.

CXIX

On "Co-operation", before the State Officials, 28th March 1930.

GENTLEMEN,—You are aware that I am always glad to come into personal contact with you, individually as well as collectively, so that you may know my views and I yours on some aspects of the larger principles, which we have, in our respective spheres of action, to put into operation in the governance of the State. On the present occasion, I shall briefly address you on the value of Co-operation as a cohesive, consolidating and creative force.

The term Co-operation simply signifies mutual effort to attain the common good. Its implications may be summed in the words "each for all, and all for each". The underlying purpose of the multifarious activities, which the Huzur

ordinating its purposeful efforts with greater vigour, exemplifies the practical application of the co-operative and co-operate spirit to the affairs of the States concerned. We are living in an age of mass production, large combinations of manufacturing, banking and other business concerns, trade-unions, associations of employers on the one hand and of employees on the other, co-operative societies and other federations, all of which are founded on the same principle of united effort.

This fundamental truth applies with equal force to the component parts of our administrative machinery, with the smooth working of which each one of you is concerned. Its efficiency depends on your well co-ordinated endeavour, inspired by a genuine spirit of effective co-operation. Take a few concrete instances. Can our criminal courts function without the contributory activities of our Police Department? Can the Police Department do its work properly unless the people come forth boldly to furnish evidence and tell the truth? Would it be possible for the Judicial, the Police and the Military Departments to exist without the sinews of war, for which they have to depend on our Revenue and Financial Departments? Is not the work of the Agriculture Department of vital importance to our Land Revenue? Is not irrigation the life-blood of agriculture, if it is not to be wholly dependent on the monsoon? Does not the Forest Department contribute its quota to our requirements? Do not the activities of our big spending departments, namely, Public Works, Education and Railways, converge towards the development of our resources in innumerable ways, direct and indirect? The same may be said of the creative and productive efforts of our Pragati, Commerce and Industries Departments. Can all these

Central Office typifies, and which are set in motion throughout the State on a basis of co-ordinated co-operation, is the good of my people. The pithy metaphor of an Oriental poet compares a ruler to a tree and his subjects to its roots. Unless the roots are watered and nourished, the shade and fruit, for which a tree is most valued, will cease to exist. Taken separately these two vital parts of a living organism cannot function, whereas in co-operation, the highest purpose of their co-ordinated existence is achieved.

The evolution of human civilisation is the gradual growth, stage by stage, in the course of ages, of the spirit of co-operation, whether in a family, a tribe, a community, or a nation. The most civilised and advanced nations of to-day are those that have consolidated and unified their strength by co-operation. Co-ordination and co-operation lead to that unity in which lies a people's strength. Unity of aim and purpose combined with concerted method in action are essential to great achievements. In the great war, success quickly followed the co-ordination of all military activities under the command of a single generalissimo. This principle touches almost every point in the whole range of human activities, and is as applicable to the unimportant concerns of a small group of persons as to the momentous affairs of a great nation and to international intercourse. The great war has been developing this spirit on a vast scale. Its most striking and comprehensive manifestation is the League of Nations—a sturdy infant born only a few years ago, which is already spreading out its hands to shape the destiny of the world for the benefit of all humanity. The Kellogg Pact and the Naval Conference have in view the same beneficent object, attainable by co-operation only and not by force. In India, the Chamber of Princes, which has been co-

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and pursue efficient methods of administrative procedure may so adversely affect the course of popular education as to require the lapse of a generation to remedy.

Thus, also, may public funds be squandered on unproductive objects; thus may the welfare and material progress of the masses be needlessly retarded; and the effective energies of the State, so immensely capable of human service, be tragically diverted to serve inferior ends.

Such delinquency, if it be due to negligence and mental apathy, which refuses recognition of the obligation to exercise personal initiative and to accept responsibility, should be punished with the sternness which the offence undoubtedly warrants.

I would here observe that the exercise of personal initiative, the acceptance of responsibility, the instinct to co-operate and combine should be natural and spontaneous manifestations of the common sense, wherewith it is surely not unreasonable to believe that the majority of individuals are endowed. It is not by the precept of rules and regulations that such qualities can or should be summoned to action.

It is incumbent on heads of departments to realise how deplorable is the effect of apathy and negligence in the performance of public duties, and to direct every effort to counteract the mentality which gives rise thereto.

Modern India requires the inculcation of a sterner sense of duty and self-sacrifice, a fuller realisation of the essential need of the effective co-ordination of means to ends in the interest of the community.

Let me now take a cursory view of the reverse side of the picture I have tried to sketch in outline. We have been hearing a great deal about the efficacy of non-co-operation.

For obvious reasons, I do not wish to say a word on the political or controversial aspects of this question or on its merits and demerits, but only to make a few remarks from a purely academic standpoint. Paradoxical as it may seem, the non-co-operators have been demonstrating to us the reality of their belief in the potency of co-operation. Their leaders have kindled in them a fiery spirit of co-operation amongst themselves. Remove this cementing force and the whole movement will collapse in a moment like a castle built on sand. This is only a further illustration of the fact that those who believe in the possibilities of non-co-operation are convinced of the efficacy of co-operation within their own circle. Conversely, the primitive and semi-civilised races have not fully realised that solidarity, resulting from mutual co-operation, lies at the root of organised society and human progress. Lack of co-operation leads to disorganisation, dissensions, indiscipline and chaos. Society breaks up into fragments, each seeking its own ends, and all are devoid of the power inherent in inter-connection. Parts of Africa and Asia furnish instances of such tribal isolation, resulting in the exploitation of the weak by the strong. The physical strength and courage of such small tribal units cannot be utilised in the higher spheres of human advancement for want of the solidifying effect of co-operation. An Eastern poet compares human beings with the limbs and organs of the same body politic, and says that if one of these is diseased or is in pain the whole physical structure suffers. The truth enshrined in this simile is that the entire fabric of society is so closely interwoven and inter-dependent that, unless all its parts act in harmony, restlessness and suffering are unavoidable.

In the whole scheme of creation you will find, if you look

closely, that co-operation and co-ordination are synonymous with strength and safety. Take the animal kingdom. The wild dog, a small animal, knows the value of concerted and simultaneous action, and by encircling a tiger or a lion and tightening the noose kills the fiercest and most powerful of the larger carnivora. Some of you may have read in books on the habits of wild animals fascinating descriptions of this spectacle. It conveys to us a lesson on the incalculable power of co-operation, which you should take to heart and give effect to its implications for the benefit of the State. The bee with its marvellous and disciplined instinct of productive co-operation teaches us another lesson of pregnant import. If you put forth your energies to imitate the example of the humble but busy bee, the honey of your labours will sweeten the relations between you and other people and enrich the State. Those of you who are slow or slothful should specially seek this stimulus.

Nature is described as "red in tooth and claw". This is true where co-operation is displaced by tendencies of an antagonistic and selfish character. Co-operation can thrive only in an atmosphere of love, humanity and sympathy. It cannot prosper when the air is charged with wolfish instincts. I may say in passing that a pack of wolves by close co-operation intensifies its strength for gaining its object. For goodness' sake do not learn this lesson also! Otherwise my subjects will fall a prey to lupine depredations. We all know that a few wolves among the servants of the State masquerade in sheep-skins. It is your duty to me, to my people and also to yourselves to lift the skin and expose what is underneath, so that the services may be purged of this noxious element.

Let us now turn for a moment to inanimate Nature. The

same eternal law of co-ordination prevails there in larger measure For instance, its working is apparent in the inter-relation between the seasons The rainy season, which is of vital importance to an agricultural State like Baroda, is dependent on the evaporating activity of the hot months The vapour which is then sent up is later on precipitated in the form of rain to fertilise the soil, to revivify Nature and to clothe the earth with a green mantle Similar phenomena regulate the manifestations of inanimate energy

There are maxims and aphorisms in all languages illustrative of the power accruing from co-operation or union These two words connote an association of analogous ideas and are often interchangeable I shall quote here a Sanskrit maxim as an example "Union of even small things accomplishes the end Grass woven into a rope binds mad elephants"

The moral to be drawn from what I have said is that the ruler of a State, his officers and his people, whose collective aim is the greatest good of all, must act in ordered co-operation and co ordination each in his respective sphere We are all a combined entity like the cupola, the body and the foundation of a systematical edifice Each part is indispensable to the others Your loyalty and allegiance to the head of the State and your duty both to him and his subjects will not achieve the highest results unless you fully realise in practice the great potentialities for good of concerted and helpful action in an enthusiastic spirit

In the spirit and by the means which I have indicated let us all in our respective degree bend our energies to the glorious work of enhancing the prosperity of the State Thus shall we hitch our wagon to a star, thus and thus only may we aspire to the attainment of our highest ideals in Government¹

On "Etiquette", before the State Officials, 7th April 1930.

This subject may appear dry and tiresome; but a little attention will show how important, interesting and intricate it is. It is clear that human society is organised on the consideration of the forms of conduct. That society has paid no little attention to etiquette can be proved from ancient works. Human life indeed is based on good manners; if they are corrupted, the whole edifice is threatened.

Man is by nature a gregarious animal. In the beginning men learnt to live in tribes. Later on, according to environment, clans, families, castes and similar groups were established. The poet Pope has briefly described this process in the lines:

But as he framed the whole, the whole to bless,
On mutual wants built mutual happiness,
So from the first, eternal order ran,
And creature linked to creature, man to man.

With the growth of mankind, each society claimed for itself a particular portion of land, and these portions began to be called countries. Each nation was obliged to set down regulations as to the conduct of its members in their mutual dealings, or in their relations with their ruler. This work of compiling rules and regulations on matters moral, social and political has gone on in every country and in every age.

The sanction of authority is often useful in introducing new customs. This sanction is threefold—social, religious, and political. A practice against sanction is penalised by one of these three ruling powers. The penalty inflicted by the ruling social power means loss of respect, and contempt or boycott. The religious authority inflicts punishments such

as excommunication. The punishments inflicted by the political power are well known to all. Breaches of etiquette are punished by society in these ways, and, high-class etiquette cannot exist unless society, as a whole, has definite ideas of it. In short, the rise and the existence of social conduct depends mainly on convention and convenience.

The culture of a country or a society hinges upon conventions of behaviour. Society consists of many families, and the family of many persons. Culture, thus, has its source in the family, and it depends on the conduct of the members of a society. Society is like a machine, and the families and members are its parts. Just as lubrication helps the smooth working of a machine, manners help the machinery of society to work smoothly.

There is no theoretical distinction between morality and good manners. Conventional conduct is a component part of morality; the rules of morals cover those of manners. The fundamental rules of morality are codified, and are applicable to all times and places. Manners are, to some extent, the form of morals. "Manners are the shadows of virtue." They naturally differ according to time and place, and therefore they cannot be finally codified. With change of time, climate and surroundings there is corresponding change in rules of etiquette. "Every stage of life has its own set of manners that is suited to it and becomes it. Each is beautiful in its season", says Bishop Herd. Our Hindu *Dharma* recognised this long since in its relative duties, and its four stages.

Good manners means polite conduct in keeping with morality. All should behave with politeness, kindness and due regard for people occupying different stations in life. This is a basic principle of social organisation.

Perhaps a little consideration of the evolution of etiquette

will be interesting. Mankind has evolved by slow steps from a savage condition to civilisation. In the savage condition, the field of human intercourse being limited and uniform, manners were not much considered. Yet even in those times, good manners mattered when juniors had to deal with seniors, and the tribal chief exacted homage. Such seeds have now grown into etiquette.

When the savage started on the path of civilisation, families formed themselves into tribes, governed by their chiefs. With the rise of tribal government, rules were formed and manners became more elaborate.

In this way, good manners evolve; and we find them carried to perfection in great empires of wealth and learning. In India, conventional conduct was developed into a science under the Mauryas, our first Emperors. The height of this science was reached during the reigns of Cbandragupta (fourth century A.D.), Vikramaditya (fifth century A.D.) and Harshawardhana (seventh century A.D.). In the poems and plays of Kalidas are depicted the customs and manners of the times of Vikramaditya, and in the *Kadambari* of Bana those of the time of Harsha. Here we have the courtly ways of a high civilisation.

The developed forms of etiquette are largely affected by contemporary currents of religious thought. On the other hand, manners observed at a king's court affect religious institutions. The reproach flung by the pupils of Kanva at Dushyanta, when he renounced Shakuntala, is a breach of etiquette. But the king puts up with it for fear of religion. The rules of conduct of the Buddhist assembly seem to be an imitation of rules prevalent at the court: they are at once simpler and formal: here as elsewhere religion and politics have acted and reacted.

With the coming of the Muslims into India, our etiquette was moulded by Mugal manners, especially in matters of State; but our religious institutions kept the torch of our Hindu etiquette burning; the Indian family system went on and Rajput kings continued the ancient tradition.

Since the beginning of English education and English rules, we are gradually losing our traditional manners and are apishly imitating European manners, with the result that foreigners are getting the impression that ours is a savage and rude society. Many Indians have lost their old manners without gaining those of the West.

The old proverb, "Manners makyth man", means that conduct moulds character; good manners are the foundation of good character. The chief constituents of manners—gentleness, humility, reverence, kindness—become a part of our nature as we practise them.

The poet Mukteshwar thus describes a man who deserves the respect of all:

He speaks humbly to all; to none does he show crookedness; he alone wins the respect of all. He acts and does not boast; he gives credit to others; the crown of success he wins without seeking; talking if the master bids him; telling what is asked of him; not going uninvited; these are ways of winning favour. He who conceals his knowledge, and does not label men ignorant; and in whose mouth there is a sweet tongue; he is a favourite with the world.

This extract gives a good idea of good manners, and shows how much they were valued in olden times. Undoubtedly, good manners are precious ornaments, without which man would be like a brute. What a noble character is the gentleman of the Hebrew Psalms—sitting not in the seat of the scornful, taking no usury, keeping his mind pure, seeking to do justice and to walk humbly with God and man.

There are as many codes of etiquette as there are relationships in society and family. The formalities of intercourse between master and servant, or between king and subjects, are different from the formalities observed in public institutions, courts of justice, offices and social gatherings. Quite different are the formalities of intercourse in the family. It is not necessary to repeat with what humility, reverence, respect and loyalty the servant must behave to his lord, and how the lord must requite the servant with kindness, courtesy, mercy, and toleration. Real and lasting relationships between master and servant are not possible where such manners and goodwill are not observed.

It goes without saying that subjects as well as officers must treat their king with humility, loyalty, and a sense of duty, and that good manners must form part of this attitude. This aspect of etiquette is all-important; the prosperity, prestige and well-being of the State depend upon it. Court etiquette is essential, and every one must be careful in its observance. The following lines from Mukteshwar illuminate this point:

One who does not tell a lie, is not covetous or impure, and has control over the senses, he is a favourite of the king. If the king commands him to do something rash, he refrains from obeying, but acts with a knowledge of his master's true nature. Whoso lags behind at the harem, but takes the lead in the field of battle, he is a favourite of the king. Day and night he is alert in the affairs entrusted to him, casting away indolence and sleep. He does not lend his ear to scandal against his king; his tongue does not censure the king, and he honours those whom the king honours; such a man is a favourite of the king.

Sometimes the king in his private capacity allows liberty of speech, or jokes with his officers and servants. Some

people take advantage of this Their conduct is clearly rude and reprehensible

It is advisable not to give publicity to matters referred to by the king in private, from the point of view of manners as well as of wisdom Mukteshwar under the title "Signs of folly" has held up such conduct to ridicule

Whoso goes to the palace uninvited, whoso tells without being asked, whoso pretends to be a relative of the king—he is a fool Whoso knows not good from bad, whoso listens not to the words of the wise, whoso babbles much and long, he should be known as a fool Whoso spreads scandal in the palace, whom ruin of others rejoices, who is flattered by his own praise, he should be known as a fool Where two are in council whoso overhears their speech, and demands precedence over his seniors know him to be a very perfect fool

Some people are very popular, while others are very unpopular This is as much the result of their manners as of their general conduct Humility, gentility and tolerance secure friendship and popularity, while self exaltation, pride, rudeness and vulgarity secure unpopularity and contempt Many persons have prejudiced the public mind merely by their absence of humility and gentility, and have thus made their life fruitless

Good manners are more often responsible for a man's success in life than all the other virtues possessed by him For a man gathers friends by his manners The more modest the man, the more beloved he is and the more successful In modern days of publicity and advertisement, no man can succeed in business unless he is possessed of modesty, good manners, and a knowledge of etiquette Once an aged merchant was asked how he had acquired so much wealth and favour He replied that there was only one virtue in

him, which had made him what he was, and it was modesty. The statesman on whose shoulders are international affairs cannot accomplish his task without good manners. Individual happiness, popularity, prosperity and many other considerations depend upon them, and they can be acquired by modesty, kindness and similar virtues. Truly it is said, "Modesty is the ornament of all virtues".

There is a general understanding in the world that we Hindus are naturally courteous. Every one of us must try to live up to this tradition. But centuries of slavery have affected our mentality, and it is reflected in our manners. Courtesy does not require of us that we should renounce virtues like frankness and plain speaking. What is required of us is that we should convey our opinion to others with modesty and humility, never concealing the truth, but using words not offensive to others. "Speak the truth in love." Discussion of any problem requires frankness. But under the cover of courtesy we have learnt to tell lies and indulge in flattery. We must cast away this vice, which has nothing to do with true manners; it is a fruit of servitude, and a bitter fruit.

Politeness must begin at home or in the family, as is clear from the maxim, "The father is a god". If this maxim were observed and followed from childhood up, men would become courteous. The advice given by Kanva to Shakuntala, "Cherish thine elders; and towards thy co-wives cherish feelings of sweet friendship. Be not angry with thy husband, even if he offends", is a sample of courtesy in Gupta times.

But the best test of good manners is one's behaviour towards subordinates and servants. It is not a sign of gentlemanliness on the part of a man in authority to be exacting

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and harsh, or to demand flattery and subservience. Many persons in authority are inclined to take offence with subordinates who fail in sycophancy, and make them suffer for their sturdy self-respect. A man in authority should discourage base flatterers, not by harsh words, but by gentle remonstrance. Therein lies the geniality and magnanimity of the ruler. As this behaviour is an index to his true greatness and power, he should not carry his desire to be praised beyond the limits of sanity and reason. True greatness lies in treating the humblest servant with courtesy. Observe the precepts of morality in the treatment of servants, and arrange their work so as to avoid delay and waste.

A truly courteous man follows the maxim, "Honour those who deserve honour". By honouring a man who deserves honour, a man himself becomes honourable. The proverb, "Kind words awaken kind echoes", is true. If you address a man in a polite manner, he will not reply impolitely. It is plain that one who expects polite and respectful treatment must give similar treatment to others. The substance of manners is conveyed in the saying, "Do unto others as you would be done by". This is an old rule in many lands.

The seed of modern etiquette in Europe was sown during feudal times. The semi-barbarous peoples of France, Germany and England began to be civilised by minstrels who sang of the exploits of Charlemagne and King Arthur and their knights, and the spirit of chivalry was born. The zenith of this civilisation was reached during the time of great monarchs. The court-manners of France were most refined at the time of Louis XIV, and they did not perish with the French Revolution. The French are still often a courteous people.

The distinction and beauty of European etiquette is due

then to chivalry. Men and women meet at all social functions, and have always done so. In such mixed gatherings, chivalry is indispensable. So it was in ancient India. A glance at the ancient books of the Aryans will convince the reader that mixed gatherings were not prohibited, and that narrow views about women had not spread among us. Manu says, "The deities are delighted when women are honoured"; but chivalry was not made a religious practice among us, and restrictions were tightened on account of the sad experience of mixed societies. In India, the generous treatment of women was abandoned on account of the frequent invasions of foreigners with lower standards of culture.

The education of women has made mixed gatherings inevitable; and we shall have to mould new rules of courtesy according to our social environment. We need not blindly follow European customs in this matter; an imitation of the West based upon only superficial acquaintance is beset with risks. Some are of opinion that the intercourse of European men and women is not in keeping with propriety. We must see that we do not ape the excesses committed by Europeans.

I have shown that etiquette helps the organisation and evolution of society. Etiquette is a means to individual happiness and success. Manners are a secret of human life and its chief ornament. They are a reflection of the culture of any society, and the foundation of its stability. A society which has no manners is without culture and without stability.

This string of thought, which I have woven during my forced leisure, may contain some errors; this, I hope, you will generously pardon. We can all agree that a country is tested by the manners of its people; the court of a monarch

and harsh, or to demand flattery and subservience. Many persons in authority are inclined to take offence with subordinates who fail in sycophancy, and make them suffer for their sturdy self-respect. A man in authority should discourage base flatterers, not by harsh words, but by gentle remonstrance. Therein lies the geniality and magnanimity of the ruler. As this behaviour is an index to his true greatness and power, he should not carry his desire to be praised beyond the limits of sanity and reason. True greatness lies in treating the humblest servant with courtesy. Observe the precepts of morality in the treatment of servants, and arrange their work so as to avoid delay and waste.

A truly courteous man follows the maxim, "Honour those who deserve honour". By honouring a man who deserves honour, a man himself becomes honourable. The proverb, "Kind words awaken kind echoes", is true. If you address a man in a polite manner, he will not reply impolitely. It is plain that one who expects polite and respectful treatment must give similar treatment to others. The substance of manners is conveyed in the saying, "Do unto others as you would be done by". This is an old rule in many lands.

The seed of modern etiquette in Europe was sown during feudal times. The semi-barbarous peoples of France, Germany and England began to be civilised by minstrels who sang of the exploits of Charlemagne and King Arthur and their knights, and the spirit of chivalry was born. The zenith of this civilisation was reached during the time of great monarchs. The court-manners of France were most refined at the time of Louis XIV, and they did not perish with the French Revolution. The French are still often a courteous people.

The distinction and beauty of European etiquette is due

then to chivalry. Men and women meet at all social functions, and have always done so. In such mixed gatherings, chivalry is indispensable. So it was in ancient India. A glance at the ancient books of the Aryans will convince the reader that mixed gatherings were not prohibited, and that narrow views about women had not spread among us. Manu says, "The deities are delighted when women are honoured"; but chivalry was not made a religious practice among us, and restrictions were tightened on account of the sad experience of mixed societies. In India, the generous treatment of women was abandoned on account of the frequent invasions of foreigners with lower standards of culture.

The education of women has made mixed gatherings inevitable; and we shall have to mould new rules of courtesy according to our social environment. We need not blindly follow European customs in this matter; an imitation of the West based upon only superficial acquaintance is beset with risks. Some are of opinion that the intercourse of European men and women is not in keeping with propriety. We must see that we do not ape the excesses committed by Europeans.

I have shown that etiquette helps the organisation and evolution of society. Etiquette is a means to individual happiness and success. Manners are a secret of human life and its chief ornament. They are a reflection of the culture of any society, and the foundation of its stability. A society which has no manners is without culture and without stability.

This string of thought, which I have woven during my forced leisure, may contain some errors; this, I hope, you will generously pardon. We can all agree that a country is tested by the manners of its people; the court of a monarch

destinies in accordance with the genius of their race, and in co-operation with the best policies of the West.

In a word, let India now at long last find her soul, and take the place which is not only her privilege but her due as a self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations. We Indians are a fifth part of the whole human race.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are confronted by issues pregnant with fate. The future of India and the Empire is at stake. Let us go forward in a spirit of mutual trust and collaboration, conscious of the greatness of the task imposed upon us. So, I believe, shall the aspirations of India find fulfilment—the sooner the better—and the fabric of the Empire be secured upon the great foundation of freedom and dedicated to the sublime cause of peace.

CXXIII

At the Conclusion of the First Round Table Conference, London, 19th January 1931.

MR PRIME MINISTER,—We are approaching the end of this Conference and the conclusion of a most momentous chapter in the history of India; and I have been asked to say a few words on this great occasion.

When our deliberations began, Federation for All-India was little more than an ideal, dim, distant and vaguely comprehended. It is now a live political issue, supported with a remarkable degree of unanimity, not only by the Princes and the States, but by British India, and by political parties in Great Britain. For myself I may say that the idea of Federation has, for very many years, seemed to me the only

serve the best interests of India as a whole. This I believe to be a sure guarantee of the ultimate success of the Conference.

His Excellency the Viceroy, with the concurrence of the present Government of Britain, has pronounced Dominion Status to be a natural issue of the constitutional progress of India. I consider that such a policy marks a high degree of statesmanship.

In what does the safety and the greatness of the British Empire lie? Surely in this, that the peoples who constitute it are allowed freedom to develop according to their individual genius, while they share in the ideals and the material advantages which are inherent in their common citizenship. Owing to the vast extent of the far-flung dominions of this great Empire, it must necessarily be thus. This freedom to develop is the urgent need of India, and her earnest desire.

The British Raj has done much, but how much more remains to be done! The whole fabric of India, political and economic, moral and social, calls for reconstruction on a basis which shall be true to her ancient traditions, and foster a manly spirit in her peoples, and a greater sense of national solidarity.

Let all classes lagging behind in the race of progress be given temporarily greater facilities to overtake such as are ahead of them, but not so as to cause any permanent cleavage in the body politic.

Great is the contribution which the Indian people can still offer to the world's thought, great is the part which they can play on the stage of Empire.

Give them freedom for so great a rôle; and that they may realise their aspirations, give them freedom to shape their

I have spoken of unity without uniformity. It is my deliberate conviction that to strain after uniformity in the federal structure would be a mistaken policy.

There should be perfect freedom given to each unit to develop along its own peculiar lines. Healthy and friendly rivalry is as beneficial to the State as to the individual. Thus, alone hitherto have many fruitful ideas been fostered in the Indian States.

In what spirit will the Indian States enter such a Federation?

In the first place, they cherish their internal independence, and they insist on this being maintained intact; they insist also on the removal of out-of-date restrictions, which are injurious to their development. Secondly, they advocate the establishment of responsible government at the Federal Centre, with a view to facilitating the solution of common problems, which concern British India and the Indian States alike, and the evolution of a common policy for India as a whole.

India has before it economic and other problems, the difficulty of which it is impossible to exaggerate. The success of our labours should be judged by one test—Have they resulted in producing a Government capable of facing these problems boldly, and of adopting wise measures and policies, to enable India to take her place amongst the advanced countries of the world?

Forms of government possess undoubted importance; but they are merely a means to an end. The importance, therefore, to be attached to them must be estimated by the extent to which they conduce to the end in view—the happiness and the prosperity of the people. The Indian ryot requires for his development much individual attention. If the

feasible means of securing the unity of India. Some of the Princes will doubtless recall that in 1917 I expressed the view that the future constitution of India should be fashioned on these lines.

But ideas—even the happiest—require the opportune moment for fruition. I am content to believe that, in the present circumstances, realisation of this ideal is at hand.

When the results we have achieved are reviewed by the historian, I think it will be conceded that this Conference has made a notable contribution to political thought. I refer to the conception of a United India, wherein British India and the Indian States will co-operate as partners for the welfare of India as a whole, while each unit will retain its individuality and its right to develop in accordance with its own particular genius. We shall, in other words, achieve unity without uniformity—this is a requisite of true federation.

Before the Federal Sub-committee began its work, and during the course of its deliberations, there were many to whom the idea of federation and its implications appeared so novel as to create a feeling of dread that the States might be pledging themselves to perilous and irrevocable courses. Even now, such sceptics are to be found. It is, therefore, gratifying that His Majesty's Government has been so wise as to leave time for doubts to be resolved in greater familiarity with the subject and has refrained from the elaboration of detail at the present stage. The constitution will be evolved in due time, when consideration has been given to the many interests concerned, when the various schools of thought have had occasion to state their views. Fullest facilities should be given to develop the federal idea in all its implications.

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future Government is to be "of the people, for the people, by the people", then the provinces as at present constituted seem too large for the end in view. The machinery of government should be simple, economical and intelligible, and there should be intimate personal contact between the people and those in authority.

One word more, and I have done. It is all important that in the new policy, which we hope to see established in India, the education of the people should be our earnest endeavour. No truly democratic system can effectively operate unless the mass of the citizens are alive to their responsibilities.

Our greatest efforts should, therefore, be concentrated on the uplift of the people by this means. It is very necessary that, as Robert Lowe expressed it, we should "educate our masters", that they may be able to judge between right and wrong, and avoid the excesses and errors likely to affect democracy.

I pray that all who shall have the shaping of our country's destinies may have gifts of courage, wisdom and statesmanship adequate for such a task.

Mr Prime Minister, I cannot conclude without expressing our personal debt to you, to the other members of His Majesty's Government, and generally to the British delegates, who have contributed by their cordial and whole-hearted support to the development of the new Indian constitution.

I trust that the Conservative Party will, by an announcement of their generous recognition of India's right freely to mould her own destinies, set the coping-stone on the constitutional structure.

We now await from you, Mr Prime Minister, a declaration which will satisfy the aspirations of our people in India,

and put an end to the present grievances and unrest with the least possible delay.

I ask, Sir, that you will convey to Their Majesties an expression of our deep affection and loyalty.

CXXIV

At a Farewell Banquet given to H.E. Lord Irwin by the Chamber of Princes, Delhi, 3rd February 1931.

YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is an honour as well as a privilege, which I highly appreciate, to propose the health of our illustrious guests of the evening.

As the hour approaches for your departure, we bid farewell to Your Excellencies with sincere feelings of regret.

On behalf, not only of my order, but of all my countrymen, for whose welfare you have laboured with such inexhaustible patience and such sympathetic understanding, I tender to Your Excellency our assurance of enduring gratitude.

On this occasion, I may refer to the very important deliberations which, in their recent happy result, have crowned Your Excellency's labours in the cause of peace and goodwill.

To Your Excellency, and to all who, in a selfless spirit of patriotism, have helped you, our grateful thanks are tendered.

By mutual trust and confidence, by unselfish co-operation, by the exercise of the spirit of compromise amongst all classes of the people, by subordinating all sectional interests to the common weal—thus and thus alone can India attain the goal of her ambition.

The pressure of great events and world conditions have been moulding the destinies of nations. It fell to your lot to divert the forces of disruption at work in India into the fruitful channels of co-operation and cohesion.

Knowledge and experience inspired by intelligence are essential to the effective working of free institutions.

Wherever self-government has operated successfully, it has been because all classes of the community have valued for its own sake what has been jointly fought for and won.

In India, the diversity of race and language, religion and caste tend to obstruct mutual endeavours for common ends. This, however, is not an insuperable obstacle. The encouragement of friendly intercourse and co-operation, irrespective of class and creed, is of vital moment, and so is the education of the masses in self-reliance and self-discipline.

Thus we may advance to the realisation of the Vision Splendid; our country united, prosperous and progressive, her institutions and government broad-based upon the contentment of the people.

Your Excellency has more than once borne eloquent testimony to the great part played by the Indian Princes at the Round Table Conference. The offer of the Indian States to join hands with British India has vitalised the conception of a federal constitution for India, and has helped materially to bring within the realm of practical politics the forging of a new link between British and Indian India. The spirit of unity and of common aims and purposes which has thus been kindled throughout our Motherland is in itself a sure promise of her equality among the great free nations of the world.

The sagacious practical sense of the British nation quickly

realised this new orientation in the Indian outlook, and led them to change their own angle of vision. The result was the cordial and harmonious co-operation of British and Indian statesmen of all shades of political thought in sketching, in broad outline, the framework of a constitution. It now remains for us in friendly co-operation to fill in the details of the scheme. Before this is done, it is for the Princes to discuss the matter freely and frankly among themselves and to decide individually or collectively in what manner they consider it to be in the interest both of themselves and of their country to exercise their option of entering the federation. Whatever action they take must spring from a clear conviction that what they do is wise and beneficial.

If we feel—as we all do—that useful results have already been achieved, and if we look into the future in a spirit of hope, we all realise how deeply we are beholden to you.

It was due to the initiative of Your Excellency that public attention was called to the Indian States as essential factors in the policy of India.

In summoning the Round Table Conference, in which were to be included representatives of Indian States, you emphasised the essential unity of India.

By your Declaration in November last year, you defined, with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government, the goal of India's constitutional development, and inspired the labours of the Conference.

The large measure of success, which has been attained, is due to your broad-minded sympathy expressed with consummate tact and skill.

Your Highnesses and Gentlemen, I now ask you to drink to the health of Lord and Lady Irwin. The Viceroy has not

only worthily upheld, with the help of Lady Irwin, the traditions of his great office, but has invested it with a new lustre, which will ever remain associated with his name in the history of India.

CXXV

At the Opening of the Second Round Table Conference, London, 21st September 1931.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,—I should like to thank you for your kindly words of welcome. We are about to take up the threads where they were dropped last year. We are to attempt, if I may change the metaphor, to build the super-structure on the foundations that were then laid. Let me assure you, My Lord, that we are all, for I feel sure that I can speak with equal confidence for my brother-delegates as for myself, ready to do our utmost to find a solution of the difficult problems which confront us, and to reach the goal which we all desire. That may not be easy: but with goodwill and with determination we shall surmount all obstacles, however formidable, and I trust that when the time comes again for parting we shall see more clearly the vision which has been the dearest dream of my life, the vision of a united and self-governing India, working together for the good and for the progress of the Indian people and of the whole Commonwealth.

At a Banquet to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon, Baroda, 12th December 1932.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise again to perform a most pleasant duty—that of proposing the health of our illustrious guests—Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon.

It is always a privilege to welcome to our midst the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor in India. Baroda is proud of its alliance with the Crown, which began nearly a century and a half ago; and the years that have passed, with memories of grave anxiety shared with the rest of the Empire and of common contributions to the problems of peace, have only served to strengthen these friendly relations. On this occasion, this privilege is enhanced by the knowledge that, in Lord Willingdon, I am also welcoming a personal friend of many years' standing. Lord Willingdon, I need not remind you, is alone among Viceroys in that he has been the Governor of two Provinces, and not only has he thus acquired a first-hand knowledge of the more intimate needs of the people, but he comes to the Viceroyalty with numerous friendships made during eleven years spent in India. We are fortunate that, in these difficult times, the destinies of India have been entrusted to one who has proved himself a broad-minded statesman, not only in this country, but also in other parts of the Empire.

We are now approaching the time when, as we all hope, the deliberations of two years and more will bear fruit in a new Constitution for India. I am glad that to-day we are proposing to build on the wider basis and surer foundation of an All-India Federation. I believe in the idea of federation. I do not pretend to have worked out any cut-and-

dried scheme, complete in every detail, but, for many years, I have thought that a definite step should be taken towards the evolution of a United India, in which British India and the States, as equal partners, will work for the common good. I am fully convinced that in any such scheme the States can play a notable part, and, to enable them to do this, two things in my view are essential. In the first place, the States should have complete autonomy in all matters outside the federal sphere and restrictions and limitations imposed on them, or on individual States, in circumstances which have now ceased to exist, should be removed when the federal arrangements are set up. Only so will States be living entities, full of vigour and of a deep sense of responsibility, and completely equipped for the manifold tasks of good government. Secondly, in the new order of things, there should be no striving after a soul destroying uniformity. We are often reminded that it is unsafe to generalise about India, that the North is not the South, nor the East the West, and if the mere observer needs that warning, far more weighty is it in the vastly more important domain of administration. We all want to develop naturally, each according to his tradition and according to the path of evolution on which he has set out, as the trees of the forest develop, and not as the trees which are moulded into fantastic shapes by the hand of man. This indeed has been my ideal in all I have done in my State. I hope I may say in all modesty that I have striven to develop the State according to the light that is in me, and on lines most acceptable to the genius of our people. In many fields of activity—mass education, re-orientation of indigenous culture, social legislation, devising of methods for associating the people with the administration, reconciliation of conflicting

recent years—namely, the methods of violence which a certain misguided section has adopted in parts of our country. Everyone, I feel sure, shares my horror of these senseless outrages, which can only set back the clock of progress and sully the fair name of India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now turn from these problems to extend our cordial greetings to Her Excellency Lady Willingdon, who has achieved so high a reputation for her deep and abiding interest in all that concerns the public welfare. Her presence here has added much to the charm and the pleasure of the visit. Here in Baroda, we have done and are doing all we can by way of education, by instruction in the care of infants and otherwise—to enable woman to take her rightful place in society. This cause is as dear to Her Highness the Maharani as it is to myself. I regret very much her absence, owing to unavoidable reasons; but I have my charming and genial daughter here with me to help me to entertain Your Excellencies. Her presence at this table is a source of additional pleasure to me. Her eagerness, I am sure, is as keen as her mother's to welcome Her Excellency Lady Willingdon, to whose sympathetic guidance this movement, so full of promise for the country's future, owes much of its progress in all parts of India.

CXXVII

At the Second Session of the Baroda Literary Conference, 18th December 1932.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—As you know, all my life it has been one of my greatest desires so to further the cultural development of my people, that they may not only find this

world a good dwelling-place, but also, by so living in it, as to make it a fit place for their fellows. I look upon Literature as perhaps the finest method for achieving this object; and believing this, I have spared no effort to promote it. That is why I am glad that you have given me the opportunity to open this Conference.

I have no doubt that the President, in his address, will say all that need be said about the purpose of our meeting here this morning. I will, therefore, leave particular reference to the development of Marathi Literature to him. For my part, I hope, by going somewhat further afield, by an examination of Literature in general, and of the circumstances which govern its production, to suggest to you certain leading ideas, the ignorance of which can only defeat our particular object.

And first of all, I think it is necessary that we should understand what Literature means.

Tracing it to its Latin origin, Literature simply means "that which is written". So comprehensive a meaning embraces every form of writing; it makes no distinction between *Hamlet* and an income-tax return; Shakespeare rubs shoulders with the office-boy. But in course of time the word became discriminative, it acquired a specialised meaning, just because it was obvious that, though everything that was written might be Literature, some pieces of writing were better than others. Better, that is, intrinsically. This kind of writing, which was something more than a mere vehicle for conveying information, eventually assumed the distinctive title of Literature. The question naturally arises as to how this distinction came to be made; whether it was the result of arbitrary taste, or whether it has its basis in reasoned standards of criticism. There can be little

doubt that taste was the determinative factor. Some particular piece of writing gave more pleasure than another, it lingered in the memory; and critical principles emerged when the pleasure was analysed. It is important to remember this, for without criticism, a sense of what is good and an understanding of the qualities which make Literature cannot develop. This chiefly concerns the reader, to whose influence upon the creative artist I shall refer later. The artist himself, the writer, may be said to exist not because, but in spite of critical principles. It is from the play, the poem, or the novel that principles of criticism are derived; the principles do not create the work of art. Homer and Aeschylus wrote the epics and plays from which Aristotle deduced his theory of tragedy; Horace derived his ideas on the art of poetry from a study of Virgil; and the principles of the English romantic drama were evolved after and not before Shakespeare wrote his plays.

I need hardly remind you that the study of a language goes hand in hand with that of its literature. It is impossible for me, in the short time at my disposal, to make more than a passing reference to this; but I do wish to impress upon you the importance of a study of words for their own sake, of their origin, their history, and their æsthetic quality. Remember, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the words which we use as symbols of our thoughts and feelings are as elusive as the shadow cast by a butterfly, and as fascinating as the brilliant colour of its wings. It is only when that shadow has been caught; only when we have mastered the secret of them, that words become Literature.

Let us look for a moment at the process by which this is achieved; and ask ourselves why Literature should exist; what motivates it; how it is influenced; how controlled.

The history of Literature reveals a significant fact: poetry always precedes prose. Yet we are apt to regard poetry as a much more cultured form of expression than prose, simply because, to-day, prose is the common medium. We do not talk in verse, nor write our letters in couplets. Yet poetry existed long before people could write, at a time when the records of a people, the tales of their prowess in war, their beliefs, their superstitions, lived only on the lips of the singer, who touched his harp while the warriors were feasting, and sang of their deeds, and the deeds of their forefathers. And he sang in verse because verse was easily remembered. Metre and, later, rhyme were in their origin nothing more than aids to memory. The ancient bards were as utilitarian as the modern school-teacher, who, in order to fix the number of days in each month in his pupil's memory, makes him learn

Thirty days hath September,
April, June and November.

This versifying becomes poetry when the genius of an artist inspires it with fuller life. Shakespeare's stories were familiar to his audience, but by his imaginative mastery over words he transformed them into something rich and strange; and in much the same way Tulsidas and Mukteshwar transformed the *Mahābhārata* into the vernaculars*. Verse, then, can be said to have been called into existence by the necessity for remembering, even though nothing of it was written down. When it does come to be written, attention becomes concentrated not so much on what is to be written, as on how the matter is to be presented; and so we arrive at

* Hindi and Marathi versions of the great Sanskrit epic: see p. 708.

the art of poetry. In the early history of Literature we find that works on philosophy and religion are written in verse, which sometimes becomes, as in the case of Lucretius and Horace in Latin, and Dnyaneshwar in Marathi, transmuted to poetry by the genius of the writer.

Prose is a later development, a much more sophisticated form of Literature. It seems to have arisen in England, when the Bible was translated, for the masses. Translation almost inevitably demands the use of prose, chiefly because poetry is so closely bound up with the inmost spirit of the language that it is impossible to catch that spirit in verse form in a foreign tongue. Moreover, as civilisation progresses, more and more people come to read and to write, people who are not in the strictest sense of the word literary, but merely literate, and prose is their natural means of expression. The process was very slow as long as handwriting was the only method of recording ideas. It was the printing-press, as much as the Revival of Learning, that accounted for the rapid increase in the development of literature, and of prose in particular.

For the printing-press snatched the monopoly of teaching from the priesthood, and scattered it lavishly far and wide. This was momentous. For the first time there was the possibility of a reading public. There is no need to examine the history of so various a crowd as that which we call the reading public. The process was bound to be slow; but to-day, because of compulsory education, every one can read, and almost every one can write. Such a situation is full of promise, and fraught with danger, for a public that can read will clamour until its appetite is satisfied, and it is the professional writer who must satisfy it. Within fifty years of England's breaking away from Rome, Shakespeare was

giving his public what it wanted in the form of blood and thunder, quips and all manner of coarse jests, at the Globe Theatre. To-day the printing-presses are hard put to it to satiate the omnivorous appetite for tales of crime and its detection. Those tales are, most of them, written in such prose as can hardly be called literature. The factory, the railway train, the internal combustion engine, wireless, the cinema and all the fever and fret of modern European existence, leave the common reader little time for finer literature. Shakespeare gave his public what it wanted; were he alive to-day he would have to forsake blank-verse for prose, because the modern public would have no patience with verse. This is what the press has done. No longer is literature created by a Chaucer, who for his own delight wrote poetry at the end of a day's hard work. The professional literary man, even though he be an artist, is tied to his public; he must give it what it wants, or perish. One moment he may be writing an article for a newspaper of which more than a million copies are sold each day; the next a biography for a select group. Here, then, is the most tremendous influence in Literature to-day, the motley crowd of men, women, and children, who tyrannise over the author. They influence him, they control him. However much he may desire to do so, he cannot go beyond their limitations, because his first object must be to make himself intelligible to them, and give them pleasure.

I do not wish to imply any strict parallel between conditions in modern Europe and those in our own country. The masses of the peoples of India are hardly touched by the progress of scientific invention; and the number of readers amongst them is still far below that which I desire to see.

But the fruit will come when such a state of affairs as that I have outlined in Europe exists; and in looking forward we must take account of it, and guard against its dangers, if our literature is to be worthy of us.

So it is that Literature inevitably reflects contemporary life, its habits, manners, ideas, creeds, and superstitions. Dickens wrote for an audience whose life was modelled on that of its ruler, even in thought and sentiment, and Dickens' novels are not only a deliberate picture and record of Victorian England, but an unconscious commentary upon it, too. No author can live outside his own times. He is a product of them, and as he is sincere, his value lies just in that fact. Dickens was Victorian: Shaw is not far removed from him in point of time, yet they are poles apart. And it is not simply that they are two such different personalities; it is that they lived in different worlds.

In much the same way it is that the kind of book which is read at any given time emerges. To-day, for example, the influence of, and interest in, Science is vital and widespread. The public demands the knowledge, and books are multiplied; and it becomes possible for a professor to write a book on the latest theories in Astronomy, which is a best-seller. Not a hundred years ago Darwin wrote his *Origin of Species*, which was received only by the intelligentsia; it shocked Victorian England; yet only a year ago one of the most popular Christmas presents among averagely educated people was a book on advanced anthropology.

Then there is the influence of civilisations upon one another, an influence which is strongest upon a literature in its infancy. This influence is infinitely varied. Language, to be healthy, must be continuously growing; it is impossible to write in a dead language. And this growth is stimulated

by an infusion of foreign blood. English, the most polyglot language you can find, is strong, simply because it has mixed so much with other languages. The Norman invasion mixed Anglo-Saxon with French, and so we have the language that Chaucer wrote. In the same way Hindi is stimulated by the infusion of Persian words, and the inevitable associations that come with Persian culture.

Finally, I wish to draw your attention to the conditions favourable to literary activity. It is generally found that when the national consciousness is most alive literature like all the arts flourishes. The fifty years which we call the Golden Age of English literature coincided with the resurgence of the nation under the Tudors. There was the war with Spain, the enmity with the Roman Catholic world and the realisation of nationhood consequent upon this. The same is true of Marathi Literature. From 1620 to 1820, and particularly during the reign of Shivaji, the Maratha people enjoyed their hey-day. It was a period of great military achievement, of the consolidation of political power. And it was also the period of translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which was called forth by, and which stimulated, the national consciousness. Moreover it was during these two hundred years (and more particularly the first century of them) that great developments were made in literary form; and there was a widening of the sphere with which literary men concerned themselves. Hitherto, most of the poetry had confined itself to religious philosophy. It still treated of this, but in a more comprehensive way, dealing with every aspect of national life, advocating the breaking down of caste-barriers, and thus suggesting the formation of a more united people.

At the close of this period, with the death of Madhav Rao II,

the court of Poona relaxed into luxury, and literature declined with the weakening of moral backbone.

From 1829 onwards, after the introduction of printing, and the consequent distribution of books in translation from Sanskrit and English, there has been a renaissance in Marathi Literature. History, Politics, Philosophy, Medicine, Law and especially the Drama flourish. Newspapers, too, there are. Indeed, Marathi Literature now enjoys all the advantages and is exposed to all the dangers of the democratisation of literature.

I have spoken thus much, Ladies and Gentlemen, that you may see how literature has been created, and how it is influenced in circumstances different from our own. The difference is often wide; but there are points of comparison. Unless we continually keep the lesson of history in mind we cannot hope to develop. Dangers there are, clearly; but they are dangers worth overcoming. In parting, I would ask you to face these dangers, to remember the lessons of the past, that you may in the future give to Marathi Literature an honourable place amongst the literatures of the world.

CXXVIII

At the Laxmī-Vilas Palace Banquet to the College students in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the College, 28th January 1933.

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me very great pleasure to welcome you all to dine with me in this beautiful hall this evening. This nobly proportioned room, with its beautiful carvings and other harmonious decorations, with its lofty ceiling and

divided into small groups and castes, and prevented them from working together in social matters.

I am very glad to see so many of you young men dining here with me this evening. I invited you to come because I think your social education is an important part of your training for life. The more you can mix together without unnecessary restrictions, and without distinction of caste or creed, the greater will be your influence in the social reform of the country.

The cramping effect of old prejudices has made India lag behind the other nations of the world. I hope you will bring your reason to bear on these questions, that you will discard those prejudices that are unnecessary and harmful, and keep only those practices and customs that are good. In this way, you will help your country to reach and maintain its proper place among nations.

I shall watch your careers with interest, and I wish every one of you all happiness and success.

CXXIX

At the 'Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Alembic Chemical Works, Baroda, 29th January 1933.

MR AMIN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been a great pleasure to me to be present at the time of your Silver Jubilee Celebrations. I have noted with feelings of joy and pride the progress your works have made during the past twenty-five years. The struggles and tribulations through which you, Mr Amin, have passed, have been a trial of your strength and courage. By perseverance, industry and organising capacity you have brought success to the works.

As a keen man of business you have made your name known all over India. The Alembie Chemical Works and their products have become famous throughout this land. It is a matter of no small pride to be able to compete with Western products.

Mr Amin in his own unassuming manner and with his devotion to duty has set an example to other industrialists in India. He has shown them what it is possible to achieve, in the development of Indian industries, by zeal, foresight, and determination. He has set up an organisation which by invoking the aid of science to industry has become an example to others. With his usual humility he has attributed the success of the Alembie Works to the substantial encouragement and help he has received from the various departments of my Government. But let me at once frankly say that though my Government and myself were, and are, always sympathetic to honest effort, and are ever ready to give encouragement and help, yet the major credit of the success must go to Mr Amin. The happy relations between the Ruler and his Government on the one hand, and his subjects on the other, mainly depend for good results on their mutual co-operation. With that end in view, I have always welcomed bold, honest and reasoned criticism from all, so that if there are any defects in the Administration I am always open to conviction, and ready to correct them. For example, with an eye to improving the social welfare of my subjects, I have introduced certain legislative measures. I can assure you that this legislation has been enacted by me, not because I happen to be your Ruler, but because I was convinced that it would conduce to the welfare of my subjects. I have ever tried to keep in mind the requirements of the times. It is for my subjects now to take advantage of

this legislation in the spirit in which it has been framed, and assist in its enforcement. The same holds good with regard to other matters. Without co-operation of this kind from the people, even a federation of India would fail to produce the desired results. Responsibility at the centre, or elsewhere, would have little or no meaning, if the spirit of co-operation between the Government and the people is wanting.

In the West people boldly face and withstand trial and tribulation until they achieve success. By successful industrial enterprises they make money, and they know how to enjoy it. We in India are bound down to a sort of slavery by our social customs, and it is, therefore, essential that one's views should be based and formed on reason. We should be respectful to our elders, but at the same time we should firmly and respectfully stick to our convictions. Often our unhappiness is due to our own misgivings and mistakes. The valuable habits of work, punctuality, cleanliness, organisation, co-operation and a host of other things seem to have developed to a greater extent in the people of the West, than amongst the people of our country. Is it the difference in race or in geographical conditions that is responsible for this? What matters very greatly is the early formation of good habits. I know that, at present, education is not imparted by ideal methods. To that extent it is, perhaps, responsible for present conditions. But we must try to remedy these defects. Hence, in all matters that directly or indirectly touch the welfare of my subjects, I have welcomed their views based on sound judgment and expressed with responsibility. It is my ardent and lifelong desire to free my subjects from the trammels and tribulations of obsolete customs and practices. And let me emphasise again that it is here that I want the co-operation of my subjects.

There is one important channel in which the labours of our agricultural population can be usefully directed in the so-called "slack season":

(a) We must remember that the great majority of the working population of the country are engaged in agriculture. They are occupied for about four months of the year. For the remaining eight months of the year they have little or nothing to do. To find profitable occupation for these long months of enforced leisure is the all-important problem of Indian economics. The development of additional or subsidiary industries would go a long way to solve this problem.

(b) As matters stand at present, if a bad season occurs, disaster stares them and their families in the face. All they can do is to implore Government to come to their help; and that is the very time when Government finds it most difficult to give real help; for the revenues of Government are not elastic, but depend, above all, on the prosperity of agriculture.

(c) If they had a secondary occupation to fall back upon, or if they could at these times get employment in industry, such periods of trouble might be safely tided over.

(d) We are doing our best to develop our resources, so that all our people may have a reasonable certainty of earning a safe and sure livelihood. But we are groping in the dark. I hope that all of you, experienced as you are in the ways of finance, commerce, and industry, will do what lies in your power to remove from our working-people the fear and misery of prolonged unemployment, and so add to the happiness and security of this great country.

The reference to Prof. Gajjar has touched my heart. His association with me was one of the pleasantest of its kind.

Even now I can visualise him standing before me in his simple dress, and in his charming manner explaining to me the various processes of dyeing and printing as practised and taught by the German dyer, who was invited by the State at his suggestion. To me, Gajjar is a name associated with hard work, untiring zeal and indomitable will. I cherish great regard for him and for his wonderful abilities.

Once more I congratulate Mr Amin on all that he has achieved by his untiring efforts exerted in his own unassuming yet business-like manner. I am also glad to hear of the efforts made by him and his colleagues to show appreciation of the labours of the men who have wholeheartedly co-operated with him during the early times of struggle and thereafter, which have enabled him to bring the works to the pitch of efficiency and prosperity that they enjoy to-day. Let me assure you, Mr Amin, that to join in the Silver Jubilee of your works has given me very great delight.

The Alembic Chemical Works have courteously announced a sum of Rs. 15,000 to be placed at my disposal, and asked me to allow my name to be associated with the scholarship or scholarships from its income. I have great pleasure in doing so: and it is my pleasure to have the scholarships administered by the Chemistry Department of Baroda College.

In conclusion, I express the confident hope that Mr Amin and his associates will continue their work with unabated zeal, and lead the Alembic Works to still greater prosperity.

On the occasion of the Baroda City Municipal Address, 9th February 1933.

MR SUDHALKAR, MEMBERS OF THE BARODA CORPORATION, GENTLEMEN,—I am sincerely pleased to receive your address; and I thank you for the genuine warmth of your welcome. I appreciate the spirit in which you refer to your plans for improving the amenities of this city; and I would assure you that I shall follow their course with keen interest, giving you my fullest support in the amelioration of the conditions in which the poorer classes live.

I am glad that you have referred prominently to a question which is commanding the closest attention of the best minds of India at the present time, the question of untouchability. For several decades I have devoted my close attention to this problem, affecting as it does the future well-being of the whole of our social fabric. I wish I had the time to draw a picture from the history of the great civilisations of the world, so that you could see the background against which the problem we have to examine has grown. Without a knowledge of history, no adequate understanding of the problem can be attained. We must not forget that in the ancient world nations were by no means as isolated as we are apt to imagine. The history of India affords ample proof of this. Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Persia have all influenced us. But it is impossible for me to examine these influences; as, after all, history records only a few facts, and these are not always coherent. It is a problem which must be approached in a spirit of humility, with sympathetic understanding, and with sincerity. For the obstacles which we have to overcome are not those which will yield to Bolshevik

onslaught. For seven hundred years those barriers (which it is my ardent desire to break down) have been growing firmer. They are deep-rooted in custom, and have acquired a so-called religious sanction which, in the eyes of those who leave that sanction unquestioned, makes them inviolable. Tradition dies hard; and we cannot be too careful in the method we adopt to change it. But of the necessity for a radical change in the attitude of most people in India towards untouchability I am convinced; and my object in speaking to you now is so to impress upon you the necessity of that change, that you will co-operate wholeheartedly with me in bringing it about. For at this time in the history of our country, when we are bending all our efforts towards the realisation of responsible nationhood, we must build upon sure foundations. A house divided against itself cannot stand; and until the false distinctions between the untouchables and their fellows have been obliterated, we shall build our house in vain.

For a few moments I wish to consider what untouchability means, and how it came about that one man could be regarded by another in his own country as an out-cast from society. In the *Shāstras** we find sixteen kinds of untouchables enumerated, namely the washerman, the cobbler, the actor; the Veruda, or cane-worker, and the fisherman; the Medas and the Bhillas; the goldsmith, the tailor; the carpenter; the oil-presser, the charioteer, the potter; the bamboo-worker, the barber and the ironsmith. Besides these, the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Mlecchas—a comprehensive term including all non-Hindus—are stigmatised. Many more details I could give you, but these will suffice for my purpose; and I wish you to consider the implications of these

* Sacred Books.

facts. In the first place, you will have noticed that the kinds of untouchables which are mentioned in the *Shāstras* fall into two classes: vocational and ethnic. Certain professions, some of them menial, others requiring a high order of skill, were considered to carry with them a social (or if you like a religious) stigma; the goldsmith had no more caste than the barber, and the cobbler was branded with the actor or the worker in iron. There seem to be no specific reasons why those who followed these vocations should be singled out from among their fellowmen as creatures unworthy to eat with them, and as men whose touch was defiling. It is easier to understand why those in the second class should be considered as beyond the pale, for they were of different race. The Yavanas and the Mlecchas were foreigners, they had their own cultures, their own religious creeds, and these were not in harmony with the culture and religion of the Hindus. It followed naturally that these aliens should be regarded as outside caste, and that the Hindu should regard them as, in a certain sense, beyond the pale of Hinduism. But all this happened a long while ago; and in the course of the centuries, the foreigner has, owing to social and political conditions, and a better understanding with the people, become assimilated with the country in which he lives. He enjoys civil rights; the law looks upon him with the same eye as it looks upon the man of high caste; yet he is cut off from the dearest right of a man—that of communion with his fellows.

Now it is a significant fact to notice that amongst those professions which were at one time regarded as beneath the notice of a high-caste Hindu, there are to-day some which are not so disdained. Many men of highest social standing follow these vocations eagerly, without any risk of being

branded as untouchables. In the office, on the public-platform, indeed in any sphere where the common business of life makes it necessary, the distinctions of caste must be glozed over. The rules which govern the game of life to day do not allow of the rigid observance of such distinctions. Yet they most unreasonably persist. I am reminded, Gentlemen, of the answer which the Jew made to the Christian who invited him to dinner. "I will buy with you", he said, "sit with you, talk with you, walk with you, but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you." This may seem natural, Gentlemen, but it runs directly contrary to the true spirit of humanity, and, as I hope to show you before I have done, to the true spirit of Hinduism.

But there are other points in the origin and nature of untouchability which must be considered before a full understanding of the problem can be attained. The brand of untouchability scarred a man not only by reason of his profession or his race. The followers of such alien religions as Buddhism and Jainism were also included among the untouchables, and their touch made a bath of purification obligatory on the part of caste-Hindus. There is a passage in the Sanskrit scriptures which, being translated, runs—"Take a purificatory bath with garments on when touched by Buddhists, Pasupatas, Lokayatas and atheists, as also by Brahmins who indulge in heinous deeds." I want you to remember the latter part of that quotation, Gentlemen, because it has particular bearing upon the conclusions I shall draw from this examination. There were, however, some exemptions from pollution. Certain commodities necessary in daily life become pure, we are told, as soon as they have been taken from the vessel in which the untouchable brings them, nor does contact entail pollution on

festive occasions, in time of public danger and distress, on a journey, or in battle. The most casual survey of these exemptions cannot fail to impress one with the fact that, whenever occasion demanded, the strict rules of caste were relaxed, simply because without that relaxation life could not go on. There is no avoiding the fact which emerges from this admission, that on every occasion when he found he could not do without the untouchable, the caste-Hindu absolved himself from those very rules which made him a caste-man. He took the line of least resistance and compromised with his beliefs. On the battle-field, when the untouchable was fighting by his side for a common cause, he was glad of him; in the market-place he would pass by on the other side, for fear lest his fellow's very shadow should defile him.

The question which naturally suggests itself is how such a system as this of caste could subsist. Doubtless you know that in its origin the caste-system, with its four divisions, was based, not upon such false prejudices as those which gave rise to the modern society of water-tight compartments, but upon principles of merit. In the *Purusha Sukta* there is a parable which says, "The Brahmin is born from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaisya from the legs, the Sudra from the feet of the Primeval Male", i.e. the Brahmin is the mouthpiece, etc. This is illuminating, for it shows, figuratively, that the distinctions between one man and another were those which we, in our time, base on the division of labour. A man attained to authority and respect among his fellows because of virtue that was in him. The system was elastic. Upon the recognition of merit and its due appraisal, every social system worthy of respect must rest. And in its origin the caste-system was nothing more,

different grades of rights and privileges with the result that the caste-system has become ultimately so closely allied to political power as to depend upon it for its existence. But a system which is erected on so uncertain a basis must suffer reverse sometimes, and the caste-system, as history also proves, has so suffered. When Asoka introduced *Dandasa-mata*, or equality of punishment, and *Vyavaharsamata*, or equality in the eye of the law, he cut at the very roots of the caste-system; for that great king saw that such distinctions were not only superfluous, but that they were a menace to social and political solidarity. Under the Brahmin Sungas came the inevitable reaction, which in its turn was considerably weakened under the tolerant rule of the Gupta kings. So the history of the caste-system unfolds itself, now strong, now weak, but never constant, until under the Muhammedans, and then under the English, no caste distinction has ever been recognised by the law.

Moreover, such a hypocritical idea of social relationship gave rise to practices which, in our time, have made it impossible for the caste-man to lead anything but a double-life. The belief that the Law of God commands the observance of distinctions between untouchable and caste-man is a falsification of history. Far from being according to divine law, such an observance is directly contrary to the true spirit of the *Shāstras*. Nor is it in any way supported by reason. Instead, it is the direct outcome of the growth of superstition and ignorance, which have played havoc with the soundness of our social system. Like a canker, superstition has fed upon ignorance and corrupted the heart of man. So he has resorted to harmful practices; frankness and friendliness, qualities which are essential to the sound growth of any society, have given way to suspicion and mistrust.

and certainly nothing less, than this. It was, in fact, based upon class, as well as on colour. It followed natural laws of evolution, and the fittest came to the top. Thus arose an aristocracy which depended upon its own inherent worth for power, and a man would be of high-caste or of low according to his intrinsic value. No one will quarrel with such a system, since it is that upon which any true society must depend. But as time went on, the distinctions which had arisen naturally became distorted under the influence of a human weakness which seems inevitable. No one can guarantee that because the father is worthy of authority, his son will be also. But his son will hardly recognise that. What came to his father by right of merit he will arrogate to himself by right of birth, and insist upon it if he can. I need not quote you chapter and verse to prove that. What I do wish you to notice is how false a principle it is, and that obedience to it is one the chief causes of the growth of that social evil which I am urging you, with all my heart, to eradicate from our society. For who amongst you can fail to see that the original virtue of the caste-system has been lost because the lust for power has blinded men's eyes to human truths? When once a man, or a body of men, taste the sweet poison of power, it must go hard with them before they will loose their hold upon the cup. When all is said and done, is the caste-system, as we know it to-day, any more than an exemplification of this fact? For hundreds of years the process has been going on; tradition has warranted it; and kings have countenanced it. History shows us that under Brahmin kings, Brahmin ministers, or weak men or women under Brahmin influence, have become powerful. The distinctions of caste have thereby become aggravated; the laws of the land have been directed to maintain the

different grades of rights and privileges with the result that the caste-system has become ultimately so closely allied to political power as to depend upon it for its existence. But a system which is erected on so uncertain a basis must suffer reverse sometimes, and the caste-system, as history also proves, has so suffered. When Asoka introduced *Dandasa-mata*, or equality of punishment, and *Vyavaharsamata*, or equality in the eye of the law, he cut at the very roots of the caste-system; for that great king saw that such distinctions were not only superfluous, but that they were a menace to social and political solidarity. Under the Brahmin Sungas came the inevitable reaction, which in its turn was considerably weakened under the tolerant rule of the Gupta kings. So the history of the caste-system unfolds itself, now strong, now weak, but never constant, until under the Muhammedans, and then under the English, no caste distinction has ever been recognised by the law.

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The morale of the people has been sapped; and such a social tyranny has arisen as is an enormity in the eyes of the world.

We learn from history, too, that others before us have realised the evil of untouchability, and attempts have been made in various parts of India to abolish it. During the seventeenth century, Tukaram and Ramdas in the Deccan, Narsi Mehta and Mirabai in Gujrat, devoted their attention to it. When Buddhism was destroyed by the Muhammedans in the thirteenth century, and the monks and nuns had been massacred, the worshippers of Buddha found themselves in a precarious position. A large number of them became converts to Islam, because intercourse between Buddhists and Hindus, with their circumscribed vision, was impossible, since the Buddhist was, in the eye of the Hindu, untouchable. In the time of Akbar, however, Chaitanya, by a daring stroke, broke through the barrier, made the Buddhists Vaishnavas, gave them a uniform and special privileges, and so brought them within the Hindu fold. If in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries men saw the need for the abolition of these obstacles to social unity, how much more should we, who live at a time when the countries of the world are linked together by bonds which they could not have imagined.

Deprived of legal and civil privileges, yet determined to preserve their power, the Brahmins had recourse to the last refuge of the die-hard, they covered tradition with the sacrosanct cloke of religion. They forgot, or ignored, the origin of caste; they turned aside from patent merit; and they concentrated their energies upon a jealous preservation of a society which is palpably false. I do not wish to dwell too much upon the religious side of this problem, because it

seems to me that it is not a religious matter, in the narrow sense of that word. Religion in its true sense is the relation between the individual and the supreme power. But when a body of men make a public stand in the name of religion, then it is time for us to take account of it. And what can be said for the maintenance of the caste-system under the name of religion? The highest caste-Hindu is surely no more a Hindu than the untouchable who professes the same beliefs. There is no religion more tolerant in its teachings, more all-embracing in its sympathies, than true Hinduism. Its truth, its beauty, are so real, simply because they are derived from, and satisfy the deepest needs of, humanity. It is a religion of humility; no man is cast out from it save by his own conduct. It is portrayal of the growth of different stages of society. How then can we, if we sincerely believe in the truth which Hinduism teaches, make distinction between untouchable and high-caste, between Brahmin and Pariah? Who, believing, can dare to regard one man as out-cast, another as initiate? or who, save in the false and pharisaical pride of his own heart, dares to cast a stone at another, simply because he is not born a Brahmin? Gentlemen, I know that what I am saying is bold, and I mean it to be bold; I know that in asking these questions I am striking at the roots of a social system which has the sanction of centuries; but you will have missed the interpretation I have put upon the facts of history if you cannot see with me that that sanction is false, and invalid. For we have to clear away the superstitions and the prejudices which, in the name of religion, have obscured the real nature of the problem we have set ourselves to solve. That nature is social, and all that I have said has been leading up to the realisation of that essential fact.

But before I indicate the way to correct this social evil, there is one aspect of untouchability to which I would draw your attention. It is true that we are chiefly concerned with abolishing the social disabilities under which fifty millions of our brethren suffer. These fifty millions are utterly outside the pale. But their shameless condition cannot be bettered unless we resolve at the same time to reform the caste-system itself. For within the pale there exist distinctions between man and man which are nothing less than an expression of this same idea of untouchability. There is no actual solidarity within the caste-system itself. There are circles within the major circle, and all of them are, basically, vicious. Consider for a moment the attitude of the caste-Hindu to marriage, to dining with his fellow-caste-men, and to similar elements of social intercourse. When a man refuses to allow his daughter to marry outside the cramping limits of a few families with whom, and with whom alone, he allows himself fully to associate, is he not branding a man whom she may wish to marry with the scar of untouchability? And if he will not dine with a fellow-caste-man, is he not calling him unclean? The arguments which are urged in defence of these degrees of untouchability within the caste-system itself are the same as those which that system uses against those who are not part of it. And chief among them is tradition. Custom and habit have a strangle-hold upon society, which gasps for life in the fierceness of their grip. Pride walks stiff-necked among them. The low-caste man who passes the untouchable by in the market-place is in his turn spurned from the table of the man whose caste is higher than his. Gentlemen, this state of affairs would be laughable were it not so serious. For among the caste-men themselves are men of high character, spiritual men, men of fine intellect;

artists, men who should be most quickly aware of the deepest truth of humanity. Yet are they bound by the traditions of their fathers. My father, they say, did not dine with your father, therefore I cannot dine with you; there has never been a marriage between our families, therefore I may not give my daughter in marriage to your son. These men of fine intelligence, who help us to understand the mysteries of the universe, these men can say to their reason, "thus far shalt thou go and no farther". They offer to explain the universe to us, yet, by their own conduct, deny the spirit of humanity which informs it. They attempt to justify the ways of God to man, yet, as Sir S. Radhakrishna asserted in his lecture a few days ago, they lose sight of the creature in their absorption in the Creator. The artists among them, who give us their interpretation of life simply because they are hypersensitive to the beatings of the human heart, these artists are apostate to the humanity they interpret when they obey the rules of caste. And just as we found that the caste-Hindu could conveniently forget the difference between himself and untouchable when it served his purpose so to do, so do we find, on his own confession, will he compromise with his beliefs in inter-caste distinctions. The conscience which is capable of juggling with itself is not moving with the times, it is merely time-serving. Before, therefore, we can successfully help the untouchable without the pale, we must set our own house in order.

You will do nothing by hammering upon the gates of temples and demanding entry; you will be defeating your own ends if, as it were at the sword's point, you command men, whom the prejudice of centuries separates, to dine together. These prejudices have to be overcome; but they can only be vanquished by a movement that emanates from

the heart of man. The theories and the customs which have guided Hindu society for centuries have to be replaced by others more suited to the times. The whole temper of our countrymen must be remoulded if we are to succeed in effectively removing this crying evil. It is humanity we have to establish and it is in the name of humanity that I ask you to go forth with me, and our chief ally, reason.

The way to banish prejudice is by reawaking the minds of men. When the relation of the untouchable to the caste-Hindu is seen in the light of reason, it appears so impossible that we wonder how, in an age which is in many ways so enlightened, we can tolerate such an anomaly. In an age when men are, comparatively, educated; an age in which the world is linked by bonds of which our ancestors seven centuries ago could not have dreamed; an age in which the bounds of society have expanded even beyond the limits of nationality; we, in India, not only tolerate the existence of a caste-system which facts show to be effete, and incomprehensible to people outside India, but we even fight for the retention of that system which is a stumbling-block in our path to national self-consciousness. If we stand aside and watch this evil go uncorrected, we are guilty of betraying our trust. We cannot avoid that charge, unless we are ready to spend ourselves selflessly in the cause of our common humanity. The education of the people should be a potent force in the achievement of our object. But education is not enough. I need hardly remind you that the very class which for centuries has been responsible for the maintenance of these false social distinctions is that which has had the monopoly of education. It is the old story of the tyranny of the priesthood over again. All their learning, all their enlightenment, has been directed to the exclusion of the un-

touchables from the precious heritage of the brotherhood of man. If we warp our education to such a use, we were better without it; but if we use it as it should be used, it will lead us towards our goal. For, equipped with a right mind, you, and especially the younger amongst you, should go forth amongst the people on that mission of social service in which their salvation lies. I have often heard it said, as an argument against the granting of social equality to the untouchable, that he is not fit to take his place in society. But so specious an argument cannot stand for one moment in the light of reason. If a man is down, is that a reason why we should not help him up? or are poverty, and the misery which poverty entails, necessarily a proof that a man has not a noble spirit? It is perfectly true that before the untouchables can fully realise equality of social position they have much to learn; but that is just where we can serve them best. No decrees establishing their social rights will be of any use to them unless we help them to take advantage of those rights. In Erewhon, Samuel Butler tells us, the people looked upon ill-health as a crime, and crime as a disease, so that they condemned a young man with pulmonary consumption to imprisonment for life, while a man who had embezzled a widow's pittance was the object of their sympathetic commiseration. That satirical shaft might be aimed with good effect at the caste-system in India; and we, if we lend our tacit consent to the social ostracism of a man whose sole crime is that he was not born a Brahmin, are guilty of his social murder. I hope I have made the nature of the problem sufficiently clear to you, and the way in which I think it must be solved. It is first and foremost a social question. The cry that is raised, that to destroy the caste-barriers is to destroy religion, is ridiculous. That cry

was raised when Lord Bentinck abolished the practice of *Sati*, it was raised again when the age of consent was raised in British India, it always will be raised when the preserves of one particular class are raided. All religions are in effect ethical codes, they exist to direct the moral conduct of the people. The ethic of Hinduism is noble because it is a social ethic. It is not the preserve of one class, but the heritage of all who believe in its precepts. It is, moreover, a moral code the true greatness of which is admirably suited to our needs to day, since it transcends modern caste differences.

The way before us is obvious, Gentlemen. Every facility must be given to the untouchables to enable them to take that place which is due to them as men. You know that I have opened the doors of education to them. I have founded schools, and I have caused hostels to be built in which they may enjoy the society of their fellows. Scholarships have been created to enable them to take advantage of University education. I have visited their homes, and have observed for myself their way of life. It is, therefore, from the profound conviction of personal experience that I urge upon you the necessity for affording the untouchable every opportunity, so that all men may meet together freely, that their relations with one another may be frank, and honest, and that they may go hand in hand, as equals, down the path of life. I do not wish to see them down trodden, for, as I have stressed, it is an insult to reason to spurn them simply because they are less fortunate in the circumstances of their birth than other men, it is a denial of manhood to regard them as inherently unworthy.

A nation cannot be stronger than the weakest of the people comprising it, as a chain is only as strong as the weakest of its links. If we realise this, and act upon what our

reason perceives to be true, we shall achieve the flowering of the spirit of brotherhood from within. We shall have come nearer to the unity we desire, and without which we cannot exist; and we shall, as we all should strive to do, leave the world a better place for having lived in it.

CXXXI

In the Durbar of the 17th March 1933, when he entered upon his 71st year.

GENTLEMEN,—I wish to speak a few words to-day, suitable to the occasion. To these you will kindly listen, and think of them with due discrimination and indulgence, like the swan, which is reported to have the power of discriminating milk from water.

To-day is my seventy-first birthday. I know that all of you have thought it, in your heart of hearts, a unique occasion in my life. That gives me great delight; but at the same time I must remind you of the words of an English poet who sings telling us that the worth and value of a life are not measured in years but by meritorious deeds. Is a short life devoted to the emancipation of mankind praiseworthy, or a prolonged life dissipated in luxuries?

I have to request you to-day to scrutinise and examine the life of your Ruler dispassionately by the criterion I have given you, remembering at the same time the weakness which flesh is heir to. You may form your opinion with skill; and if you point out my shortcomings, do not think that I shall discard your views.

Inspired by the above ideal I have come to this conclusion that, remaining away from you and forming an opinion

regarding the condition of the people on the report of others and trying to find out new methods for improving the lot of the people is a very difficult, even an impossible and futile task. Instead of that, I understand that to be always amidst the people, to study, watch and understand their wants, sentiments and grievances—so that I can correctly and easily understand the situation—to allow the meanest and poorest of my people easy access to me to ventilate his woes, is a much better method. There were two principal reasons which actuated me to seek the maximum of personal contact with people:

(1) A true perspective of the condition of the people through their so-called leaders is generally misleading. The picture of misery or difficulty drawn by a third party cannot be as correct as that drawn by the sufferer. Close and direct contact gives ample scope for discovering the misery; and the need of the people: but it is not possible to do so every day and in every affair.

(2) I thus get a chance of testing men by my own standard—be they of any caste, age, religion, occupation or condition. This process leads me to discover the really good men who choose to remain in obscurity. And long experience tells me that knowledge, riches, power, wisdom and such other qualities are not given by Providence as a monopoly to any individual or class. Those who keep their eyes open easily detect such worthy souls. There is also that fear that with the real diamonds, counterfeit jewels may be smuggled in, and it is that fear which teaches me to come in direct touch with the people.

In this connection, I hope to tell you my personal views. Politicians and statesmen may carry on controversies on the question, which form of government is the best, and may

write very learned books. To-day the world displays a number of different forms of government; I do not intend to enter into their strength and weakness. Which form of government is desirable mostly depends on local conditions. But this much is absolutely sure, that if a king has noble ideals to guide him and if he constantly studies the good of his people, an absolute monarchy will be the best form of government; because in that case there is always a soft corner in the heart of the king for his people, whom he loves as his own offspring. If such a king seeks direct touch and contact with the people, it is impossible to conceive of a better form of government.

After thus revealing my ideal to you, I will not hesitate to tell you that direct contact with the people has immensely benefited me. I have known and heard much, and the store of my experience has wonderfully increased. I have been able to know the good folk of my State, and I hope I shall still know of more. I do not sit content, knowing these people, but I make their names public in this Durbar. My aims in so doing are these: Those worthy people who have stood the test will be rewarded by a good conscience, and their good name will be known. Others will try to vie with them, and so will advance the welfare of the people.

In this connection, there is a Sanskrit verse: "Long live that clever king, who like a gardener replants those that have been dug up, collects those that have blossomed, nourishes those that are young, bends those that have shot up too much, raises those that are bent, separates those that are thorny, and waters those that show signs of fading." This is the standard kept before me while framing rules for the appreciation of services rendered to the State.

In matters of appreciation, my policy is not a narrow one,

confined to my officers only. Provision has already been made in the rules for recognising merits in the people too. At the same time I may tell you of another thing. It is that in assessing the value of decorations, you must give your thought to the sentiment behind it. You all know that the British Government award the Victoria Cross only to those who serve their country at great risk of their lives. Though the actual price of the metal of that decoration be very insignificant, yet soldiers prize it so covetously that life counts as nothing. I therefore pray that the decorations which I give should not be valued by their market value but by the sentiments of my heart.

I am not prepared to accept the theory that one can serve his country only by means of arms. There are many ways to serve humanity. Those great men of the world whose names have been indelibly engraved in the hearts of the people did not all belong to the military caste. Those who serve either in administration or outside are all great men. They serve the country, they serve humanity. Those who inspired by bitterness, or enraged by fanaticism, sacrifice their lives are to my mind no true servants. I attach the greatest importance to those only who serve mankind, forgetting and sinking all differences, and while determining the worth of men I always try to consider the services of officers of all departments whom I consider conscientious; to find out those who spend their money in supplying men's primary needs; such as education and health; to note the labours of those who remove religious dissensions, and demolish evil customs, shackles, and superstitions; to discover the enterprise of leaders of commerce and industry who effect a silent revolution in the world and those who by pioneering in agriculture enrich the life of their fellows.

Nor do I forget the work done by those who try to preserve the Arts and develop them, and who devote themselves to high pursuits of the mind, and I seek to reward the genius of writers, orators, poets and other literary people whose contribution to the welfare of mankind is never insignificant

Without further dilating upon the subject, I shall only say that I never forget—while in India or abroad—those individuals, those mighty souls, who give a large contribution of their powers, efforts and feelings, either in administrative activities or public activities of human welfare. Therefore, though to day I claim to have seen seventy summers, I still maintain and reiterate my firm conviction that it is never too late to learn, and that there is always room for improvement for every human being. It is therefore that if I fail to find out some really good and deserving men for reasons beyond human control I have asked my officers to bring them to my notice

CXXXII

On the Presentation of Addresses by various Institutions of the City of Bombay, 18th March 1933

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, Representatives of the various institutions which have honoured me this afternoon,—There are times in a man's life when the emotions that thrill his heart are so intense that it is impossible to express them in the common medium of words. Try as one may to catch these emotions, to crystallise them into speech, the inward truth of them is as elusive as a shadow. That is true of me to day. On such an occasion as this my mind inevitably goes back to the other receptions which have been given to me

in Bombay, from that which took place when the late King Edward came to Bombay as Prince of Wales, down to this present; and I find that the great kindness which has prompted you to invite me to receive your address, and the warm sincerity of your congratulations on this my seventieth birthday, leave and must leave me poor in thanks. So full have you filled my heart with gratitude that I can only say "I thank you"; and ask you with your imagination to piece out the imperfection of my thoughts. For that heart would be dead indeed which did not, as mine most sincerely does, go out to you for the generous affection with which you have received me.

You have very kindly referred to the efforts which I have made during my reign to improve conditions in my own State, and to further the welfare of India as a whole. I am grateful to you for your appreciation of what I have done. Such acts have not been easy: the difficulties have been great; and the work entailed ceaseless and exacting. Such appreciation as you have given to me to-day means a great deal to me, for the sympathetic understanding of what one has done is always a great encouragement to further endeavour. I believe I am conscious of my own limitations, yet I can honestly say that in all my works I have been inspired, not by any mean idea of self-glorification, but by a constant desire to serve my people. They are a most precious trust; and as I have been placed over them, so it has been my unswerving principle to rule them for their good.

I do not wish, nor would it be becoming in me, to trouble you with a detailed account of the achievements of my reign. But it is a very natural thing for a man on his birthday to look back upon the years through which he has lived,

and to take stock of them. And now that I have reached my three score years and ten, more than fifty of which have been spent in the arduous business of government, I think, I may be pardoned if I, too, look out over the past, to find the pattern, if there be any, in it, to study its lessons, and to search its meaning. I can think of no better expression of my thanks to you than in sharing with you the thoughts which arise from such a study; because in the accumulated experience and wisdom of the years there lies, perhaps, the star which is to guide us in the future.

From my earliest years I have always held firmly the opinion that no solid achievement can be made unless those in authority have the goodwill of the people. Without that goodwill, any laws which may be made will be in the nature of impositions. The laws may be good, but unless they are willingly obeyed by the people, much of their virtue will be lost. For a law should be regarded, not as a restriction upon individual liberty, but as an aid to the realisation of that liberty in society. When I came to my throne I saw a great gulf fixed between it and the people who should look to it for help and guidance. I seemed by my position at the head of the State to be cut off from the units that compose it. Such a position I at once saw precluded any attempts which I might wish to make to benefit my people and make Baroda a prosperous and well-governed kingdom; it was untenable, and therefore it must be relinquished. Without the goodwill of the people I knew that I could not be successful; so that the first problem I had to solve was how to gain that goodwill, how to make it intelligent. To achieve this I studied my people intently. By travelling amongst them and meeting men of every degree, I came to know their difficulties; and with a sympathetic and

loving heart I set myself to bridge the gulf that had to be crossed

So it was that I began to formulate that educational policy which, I am happy to say, has served the purpose for which it was inaugurated. My hope lay, as it always must lie, in the younger generation. The fog of ignorance in which their fathers, and their fathers' fathers, had blindly groped, had to be dispersed before the ideals which I had set before me could be reached. For only by the light of understanding could I hope to win their sympathy, and without that sympathy I could not go on. You have mentioned in your address the important fact that, at the time of my accession, India stood at the dawn of a new era in her history. Half a century ago he would have been a prophet indeed who could have foretold what that dawn's noontide would be. But had such a prophet arisen, I think that the first condition that he would have laid down for the fulfilment of his prophecy would have been the education—in the widest sense of the word—of the people.

For what I saw many years ago to be the necessary condition of uplift in my State, time has proved to be the condition essential to the realisation of Indian nationhood. I have been enabled to do what I have done in Baroda State largely because my educational policy has made it possible for my people to understand the varied steps I have taken to improve their lot. Looking abroad, beyond the bounds of my State, beyond the bounds of India, I was able to understand the condition of my people at home. It became clear to me that no sure progress could be made until many of the social and religious customs and superstitions which impeded their path had been cleared away, and it is because many of my subjects have at least approximated to

my own views on social reforms that Baroda has become the progressive State that it is to-day. In this sense I think I am not exaggerating when I call Baroda a microcosm of India; or shall I say, of the ideal India? At least it is true to say that the reforms which I have introduced into my State are those of which the whole of India stands in most need at the present day. These are too well known to you to need specific mention. That to which I would draw your attention is the spirit in which they have been made. It is the spirit of co-operation. If I had stood alone I could have accomplished very few of those works upon which you have congratulated me to-day, and even those which I might have accomplished would have been insecure. But I have been happy in securing an ever-widening circle of educated and large-hearted men and women around me whose sympathy with my endeavours has led them to work with me for the common good. This, surely, is what India needs to-day; a willingness to sink particular differences in the cause of the general good, and a readiness to co-operate in the great work which lies before us. It seems to me to be so much the need, the *sine qua non* of responsible government, that I believe nothing of permanent value to India can be gained until the spirit of co-operation is everywhere infused.

Those then are some of the lessons which fifty years of government have taught me. It remains for me to find a pointer for the future from the same retrospective glance. That pointer, Ladies and Gentlemen, I can give you in one word—Service. If my long reign has taught me anything it is this, that the noblest ideal a man can set himself is that of devoting himself without stint to the service of his fellows. In all that I have done I have striven constantly to keep before me that ideal. I have worked, not for myself alone,

nor for those who are my subjects now, but for those who will come after me. And though my efforts have inevitably been confined largely to my own State I hope that they will have been not without significance for the rest of India. Such has been my ideal, and such I hope is yours, and that of all who have the cause of responsible nationhood at heart. It is not an ideal which is easily attained; no man, perhaps, has ever succeeded in wholly reaching it; but it is, nevertheless, the noblest ideal I know. Without it, no man is fit to take his place in society, nor worthy of the benefits which society confers upon him. I have told you that I look upon education as the foundation upon which society must be built, and education is very largely, of course, a realisation of one's own individual powers. But if that realisation is accompanied by a narrow determination to use those powers for personal ends, then it falls very far short of its inherent virtue. For selflessness and not selfishness must be a man's aim if he is to serve his fellow-men truly and faithfully. So many of these hindrances to responsible government exist simply because of this failure to look beyond the narrow scope of one's own desire to that which will be of service to all. A man who stands for the particular interests of his community against the particular interests of another, and contrary to the ultimate good of both, is no less criminally selfish than the man who, to fill his own pocket, deprives the poor of bread. You will not hesitate to condemn the latter, but you may exalt the former even to martyrdom. Therein lies the danger, the *danger of all such myopic views, of selfishness masquerading as service*. When I look back and see the obstacles which stood in the way of my policy of reform, and remember how many differing factors I had to take into account before I

could be allowed to serve my people, it is strongly borne in upon my mind that successfully to attain to the ideal of service a man must above all things be level-headed. Doctrinaire ideas will as like as not mislead him. Though he should keep his eye upon the star of his ideal, his feet should be planted firmly upon the earth. He must see things clearly as they are, for only so will he be able ultimately to see them as he would like them to be.

That is the message I would give you for the future. Living as you do in one of the finest cities of India your opportunities for service are great, and I hope that what I have said will stimulate you to use them. It only remains for me to thank you once again for the honour you have done me this day, and for this handsome volume which, as you have caused it to be written as a memorial to me, be assured I shall cherish in happy and affectionate memory of you.

CXXXIII

In reply to an Address presented by the Maratha-Samaj, Poona, 20th March 1933.

SHRIMANT KHADE SAHEB, RAO BAHADUR PATIL, AND BELOVED BROTHERS AND SISTERS,—I beg permission to speak sitting. I am so doing not on the score of being a ruler or a wealthy person, but because my health does not permit me to speak while standing.

Your address and speeches have given me a good idea of the work you are doing. It is a very useful work, and I wish that you should continue it further.

You must, however, widen your vision. You must not be like the frog in the well. You must try to come in contact

with other countries Study various institutions of advanced nations Look to their industries, think of their work Try to raise yourselves by imitating them Like them, we must be united in our efforts, so only will they bring success I feel confident that a study of foreign countries, especially with regard to their feelings of nationalism, their ways of life, and their social institutions will do us much good

It is no use encouraging one particular caste only Caste and country are as intimately connected as the fingers and the hand All fingers are not of the same length or strength, yet all of them combined form a strong fist The backward classes deserve special attention But in this respect one must have a sense of proportion, and realise that undue help does more harm than good Advancement should be effected not only in one caste, it should be uniform in all castes and classes A good commander alone does not insure success, the soldiers also whom he commands must be good, they must possess the intelligence to obey the commands given to them In the present times, as all castes are not on an equal footing, some of them require special help In my own State I encourage diverse castes like the Dheds, Kolis (fishermen) and Chambhars (shoe-makers) But while so doing I take care to see that they are helped only in proportion to their need, and when this due proportion is maintained one may safely neglect as ignorance what folk say out of envy or jealousy Just as a body cannot function well unless its different organs are sound, so also our nation cannot thrive unless its constituent castes are made strong

We can visualise our country as she was some three centuries ago and the position we Marathas gained in it by the sword We must now show prowess in the fields of

learning, art, and industry. I believe from what I have seen to-day that you are doing so.

Through preoccupation with various things I had forgotten that I am meeting you again after twenty-five years. I am not a stranger to Poona. I feel that I am one of you. In historical times our ancestors went out from this province to Gujrat to make their fortune, and there they stayed as permanent residents. Even now our own *Vatan* villages are only twenty or thirty miles from Poona. Naturally, then, we feel a sort of affection for Poona, and a feeling of brotherly love for the Poona Marathas. I belong to your district.

The Marathas have a tendency to absorb other cultures. The physical and mental constitution of these people reflect Aryan as well as Dravidian tendencies. Just as the Maratha race has produced great wielders of the sword, so has it produced saints like Tukaram, social reformers like Fule, actors like Keshavrao Bhosle, kings of advanced view like Shahu Chhatrapati. The Maharashtrians have absorbed various other groups, having different customs, different vocations and different dialects. If this tendency is continued, it will add considerably to their strength as well as numbers.

Mere increase in numbers has no value. Even now our caste has greater numerical strength than any other caste-unit in the whole of Maharashtra. But its wealth and intellect, one has to confess sadly, are in inverse proportion to its numbers. The chief reason of this lies in the fact that the martial talents of this class have not been given opportunities to develop. When such opportunities to show their martial skill were offered to the Marathas, they have proved themselves inferior to none of the other martial races of

India. But in the absence of these opportunities, our condition has become like that of a fish out of water. We must always bear in mind that a true Kshatriya (warrior) needs intellectual as well as physical strength.

Every individual tries to succeed in the struggle for life, by adjusting himself to his environment. This principle is applicable to society also. Under the influence of changing times, the Maratha, who formerly depended upon his strength, has now to depend upon his intellect. And various efforts are directed to this aim. Privileges like special schools, hostels, scholarships and others are being given to them with a view to make them successful in this struggle. It is, however, obvious that such help should be given and taken only as long as they are not self-dependent. It is just like the toy-wheel used by children; it may make them lame if it is used to excess. The Brahmin to whom begging was allowed as a means to learning has now turned the means into an end. And when we look to the deplorable condition to which they have reduced themselves, we can well be proud of ourselves, when we know that our intellectual advance is due to our own efforts.

It is likely that Indians will soon be appointed to greater numbers of military posts, and the dormant martial qualities of the Maratha race will again be kindled; it is to be hoped that their present struggle for high revenue posts will stop, and that their sphere will be greatly widened.

In ancient times education was entirely in the hands of Brahmins; it was the duty of the Kshatriyas to rule and to fight. For priestly work both learning and study were necessary. Knowledge is power, and strength does not mean merely physical strength. Strength is preserved by shrewdness and wisdom, that is by education and learning.

Physical and intellectual excellence are good, not only for a particular community, but for all. It should never be the case that bravery is the quality of the Kshatriyas alone. Martial excellence and bravery must be spread among the Brahmins as well as other castes. Do not let us emphasise hereditary and caste-excellence to the detriment of other virtues. We must realise that the good of others is our good; that the happiness of others is our happiness; that the prosperity of others is our prosperity. All should entertain brotherly feelings towards each other, and all should try to do good to their country by identifying their own woe or welfare with that of others. If an individual makes efforts, the family prospers; if the family makes them, the caste prospers; if the caste makes them, the province prospers; if the province, the country prospers. It is obvious that if a family tries to raise itself without hurting other families, then the caste prospers. In the same way, if a caste tries to make progress without hampering other castes, then the province, and ultimately the country, prosper. The Marathas should have this broad vision before them, that the uplift of India is the real end, and that the uplift of their own caste is a means to that end. If this is done, it is certain that they will be able to offer to history deeds of self-sacrifice and service worthy of their great past. All my efforts are directed towards this goal. I never think about a man as a Maratha, or a Brahmin, or as Bania, or as a Deccani, or Gujrati, or Kanari, but I try to encourage the progress of all communities alike.

I am very glad to see that Mr Jagtap is managing an institution like the Shivaji Maratha High School. Mr Jagtap was a soldier in the Baroda army, and it gives me great pleasure to see that he is utilising the experience gained

there to good purpose: that he is using his own knowledge for the uplift of others. I feel that people like him will be greatly helped in their work if they get experience and knowledge of systems of education in other countries. I sincerely congratulate him on his work, and hope for the ever-increasing prosperity of this institution.

Lastly I express my most sincere gratitude for the great honour which you have done me. As one of you, let me take leave of you by expressing my wishes that your Society will work for the all-round development of the Maratha community, and will set an excellent example of self-sacrifice for the future, following in the steps of our ancestors, who made great sacrifices in the service of their mother-land.

CXXXIV

At the Reception held by various Institutions at the Tilak-Mandir, Poona, 21st March 1933.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,—As it is sunset the light is getting dim and I am not able to see you all. Your various head-dresses and apparel, however, give me the delight as of looking at a garden with many-coloured flowers. I am thankful for the honour you have done me. I am almost overcome by this display of affection on your part, and I find no adequate words to express myself. People superior to me in experience and learning have spoken before me, and I do not feel confident that I can say anything new. I am, however, trying to place before you a few thoughts of mine.

The progress of a nation requires that its people should be educated. Knowledge is a necessity of man. It instils in

come, it will bear good fruit. I hope that my successors will carry on my work after me. I have tried to educate them as far as possible; and I feel confident that they will put it to good use.

When I say that I had not time to learn even up to the fifth or sixth form, I need not be taken as flattering myself! How could I efficiently carry on the administration with so small an intellectual equipment? Even a ruler must possess the necessary fund of knowledge for his tasks. In the absence of that, one should not expect him to do his duty well. A king may well become a student, for the sake of knowledge. Of course his studies should not be merely literary: they should also embrace fields like those of general conduct in life. Similarly a broad education is necessary to strengthen both the society and the nation.

The good government of a State requires that its ruler as well as its subjects should be properly educated. However great the ambitions of a ruler may be, the power, which he transfers to his subjects, will be useless, if they are not able to recognise their responsibility, and to appreciate what they have received. They must be endowed with ability to recognise their personal and social responsibility, and to do their duty. The ruler has to look to the grievances of all. His subjects, in their turn, must do their own duty. If the king has his own duties, the subjects also have their own. If they swerve from the path of duty, the king will find it difficult to rule. The ruler and the ruled must understand each other: the ruler should make himself acquainted with the difficulties of all his subjects, from the highest to the lowest, by mixing with them; the subjects, on the other hand, should help the ruler by co-operating with him.

Mere theoretical constitutions, or those which are blind

imitations of Western ones, will not serve our purpose. The constitution of a country depends upon various circumstances: the condition of a country, its area, the monetary, physical, mental and intellectual condition of its inhabitants, and many such things. If a tree should grow well, its branches must be pruned; the same should be done in the case of human institutions. While effecting these pruning processes one has to face much criticism. But one has always to keep before him the peoples' good, disregarding the temptation of cheap popularity. It is with this view that I carry on my own administration.

There are different views of what a king should be; some of them are quite erroneous. Some, for example, feel glad if a ruler gets no sleep: they wish that he should be always awake! A king has to give great care to his health; for he has to bear a greater responsibility than others. I do not mean that a king should lead a luxurious life: but extraordinary things should not be expected of him. There is also a superstition that a king will have no old age. That this is a mistake, you can easily see for yourselves. The life of a king, like any other normal life, is subject to the changes of youth, old age and so on. If, therefore, his services are to be utilised by the subjects, they will do well to ensure a comfortable life for their king.

I feel that India is in need of federation, if she is to attain her national goal. Every national unit should willingly subject itself to a lower position for the sake of federation, looking to the general good of the country. If India has the power to chalk out her own future, she should, I think, agree to a federal constitution. Though I am a lover of progress, I am not attracted merely by the name of progress; I stand for progress in a really sensible manner. Do not let yourself

be led by a false pride, you must take the next step by knowing the fact that political constitution is the combined result of technique and art. We are good at talking, but our people cannot stand together in times of difficulty. How long can we continue in this way? Our people appear incapable of strong reform. If there is progress, it must endure, it must be well digested, our intellectual and mental powers must be strengthened for that purpose. If federation is likely to bring progress and prosperity to India, it must certainly be welcomed. It would not much matter if an individual State has to suffer for the sake of the general good. For the sake of federation, small States will have to be grouped together. I leave it to your judgment, if it is possible to establish an independent legislature and a supreme court in every small State. Yet if we accept federation blindly, it will be like playing with it. And the right to mould the future of the federation only will ensure success*.

CXXV

At a visit to the Huzur Paga Girls' School, Poona, 22nd March 1933

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I should like to congratulate the Dewan Bahadur on the lucid manner in which he has traced the history of this school, explained the nature of the work which is being done here, and recounted the successes which have already been achieved. The energy and intellectual clearness which, in spite of very advanced age, you have maintained, Sir, fill me with admiration. I cannot hope to compete with you in effective speech-making, but

* See pp 663-4

while I was going over the school, and now while I have been listening to your speech, several ideas have suggested themselves to me, and I should like, in a few words, to put them before you.

First of all, let me compliment the conductors of this school on the excellent work which they are doing, and assure them that what I have seen of the class-work has made a very favourable impression upon me. And secondly, I congratulate you, the pupils of this school, on your smart and healthy appearance. I would urge you ever to keep in mind those by whose efforts you are privileged to enjoy the advantages of education, remembering what you owe to them, whose constant care is your intellectual and physical welfare.

From the speech of the Dewan Sahib I understand that the school is making a new departure in starting extension classes, and I find myself completely in accord with the views and plans of the Council of the Maharashtra Girls' Education Society in this respect. But there is one suggestion I would make; that in the proposed syllabus for the extension classes, the vitally important subject of child-rearing be included. The Secretary of the Society has just informed me that this subject is already included, and I, therefore, willingly withdraw my criticism. My error will have served a purpose if it impresses upon you what I feel to be the great importance of proper education in the welfare of infants and children.

For more than a century, Indians, with their ancient and distinct civilisation, have been living, through the will of Providence, in close contact with the people of a Western country, representing modern civilisation of the most advanced type.

Such a contact cannot but influence both the parties, and as education is so largely a matter of influences, we, in India, cannot pay too close attention to the educational problems which our contact with Western civilisation has created. The English people have their good and bad points, and so have we Indians. Whatever the proportion of good to bad may be, neither the Indian nor the Englishman can help assimilating, to a greater or less degree, the qualities, habits and manners of the other. But the part of a wise and prudent man is to adopt the desirable, and to avoid the undesirable aspects of the people associated with him. And further, in taking even the desirable features, it is most necessary to take care that they are not slavishly copied and unnaturally incorporated with one's life. It is very essential, if unfortunate consequences are to be prevented, that the mode of life and the ideas which we accept be suitably adapted to our environment, and, consequently, to the mould in which our race is cast. This is very often lost sight of, and it is, therefore, not surprising that for a long time, people brought up in native traditions have hesitated to allow to the women of India the advantages of literary education, especially when they have seen the ludicrous results of English manners and customs on the part of a few rash, unthinking individuals. However, the prejudices, which have arisen in that way, are gradually passing, and it is a matter of congratulation that Indians have at last begun to realise the advantages of giving sound education to women.

But in order that these advantages may be real, it is necessary to think out a programme of women's education that will be best suited to Indian conditions. Only in this way can we be sure that the masses will become reconciled

to the idea of having educated wives. Under the old Indian system, the responsibility of managing the household, except only in the culinary duties, fell upon the head of the family. This was in addition to his proper function, namely, earning means of livelihood for his family. Domestic economy, including the physical, intellectual and moral nurture of children and the nursing of the sick, should, with great benefit to the fortune of the family, be a burden shouldered by the lady of the house. She it is who is best fitted by nature to discharge such functions. Once this important distinction between the duties of husband and wife is realised and practised, there will be a natural division of labour in the family, and each partner in the family will be doing that part of the whole work to which his or her natural aptitudes are best suited. So long as this is not the case, women will remain diffident and shy, and their natural growth will be dwarfed.

To remove this long-existing defect in the system of Indian life, it is necessary to adopt the European custom of putting the girls through a well-devised course of education. The woman it is who should be the ruler of the house; and when she has received her proper position and dignity in the household, she will not only become conscious of her own powers, but will also realise how difficult and important the work is which the men have been doing hitherto. The misgivings of some people about women's education on the ground that an educated woman will develop a slighting attitude towards her partner in life is baseless. On the contrary, the result of proper education of our women-folk will be greater mutual respect between husband and wife.

The curriculum of the proposed extension classes, comprising, as it does, scientific instruction in those subjects

calculated to help in the efficient administration of a household for women who have received literary education up to the University entrance, and even a higher standard, is that which is best calculated to further the cause of Indian womanhood, and I sincerely appreciate the energy which has led you to formulate it. With similar ideals I founded an institution for women in my own State; and it is a matter of disappointment to me that neither the advanced classes among the Hindus nor even the Parsees looked kindly on the scheme. The institution had, therefore, to be closed, and the very able European lady who had been placed at its head sent away. I sincerely hope that this venture of the Maharashtra Girls' Education Society will have a better fate. I shall be greatly interested in its fortunes. Though my own State is geographically distant from Maharashtra, I look upon both as inter-connected parts of the Indian community as a whole, and I shall be extremely pleased to learn of the success of this new feature of the school, especially with a view to copying it in my State, and taking hints from the conduct of it in Poona.

Finally I wish you every success in the future career of your school, which has already won golden opinions from all sorts of people; I warmly thank the Council, and especially you, Mr President, for the warm reception you have given to Her Highness the Maharani, the young Princes and myself, and for giving us this opportunity of seeing the splendid work which the school is doing.

At the Presentation of an Address by the Suburban Municipality, Poona, 18th April 1933.

DR DA GAMA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I congratulate the Poona Suburban Municipality on their short and elegant address. It is beautifully worded; and I thank you for all you have said in it about me.

Dr da Gama has referred to the facilities which Christians received from the old Hindu Rulers of Poona. I may remind Dr da Gama and you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the Christian people, who colonised here in the beginning, were originally Hindus. If we study the history of their names, their customs, and their manners, we will find that they resemble those of the Hindus. In my opinion, we, whether Hindus, Jains, Parsis, Christians or Muhammedans, are all one, and are the children of the same God. The underlying principles of different religions are the same. Backward as we are in point of education, we attach too much importance to external forms and labels, but do not see that oneness. The chief principles of all religions are the same, though their labels are different. Is there any religion which tells you not to love your neighbour or not to lead a moral and virtuous life? The spread of religion and scientific knowledge will result in removing some of our class-prejudices and bringing home to us the unity that underlies God's whole creation. Let us recognise this and strive for our common objective, the good of the Indian people. In my opinion, the real religion consists not so much in going to temples or churches as in doing good to our fellow-creatures. In short, service to humanity is the true glory of any religion.

We have so many religions in India that we must ask "Which is true religion? What superstition?" All seek power for life; but some lack proportion and harmony. I wish my own people to study other religions, and take good ideas and ideals wherever they find them.

Let us get rid of excitement and passion; and, with a calm and reasonable mind, find a sane middle path, avoiding extremes and, above all, avoiding bitter sectarianism. No one in his right mind will persecute a Christian for following Christ or a Buddhist for treading the Middle Path of Sakyamuni. But when people start making exclusive and extravagant claims passion is aroused and reason fails to rule. All religions contain good and all, alas! contain some evil: and by their fruits they must be judged.

CXXXVII

At a Reception by the East India Association, London, 21st July 1933.

LORD LAMINGTON, SIR SAMUEL HOARE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
—I must, in the first place, say how grateful I am to the East India Association for the honour it has done me in inviting me to be its chief guest this afternoon. As my old friend, Lord Lamington, has reminded you, I have been connected with the Association for over thirty years; and I have watched with much gratification the steady growth of its influence in this country and in India. If I may say so, the Association has rendered, and is rendering, valuable service to both countries. It provides a common platform on which Englishmen and Indians can meet and exchange views on important questions of the day, in an atmosphere

of goodwill and mutual understanding; and through its journal and its meetings it has helped to create an instructed public opinion on Indian questions. I need not remind you that India has 330 million people with an ancient heritage. We are studying your heritage and institutions. Will you not study ours? Partnership implies mutual respect and understanding. Would that there were more such institutions both in India and England!

Secondly, I am sure I am only giving expression to your feelings when I say how sincerely we appreciate the presence of Sir Samuel Hoare with us. The Secretary of State for India has at all times a difficult task: but to-day, with the momentous issues involved in the framing of a new constitution for India, the office carries with it a burden of responsibility which, I venture to say, is as arduous as any under the Crown. We recognise, in his presence, evidence of his interest in the great work which the Association is doing.

Sir Samuel Hoare's presence here possesses a deeper significance: it is an evidence of the increasing recognition of the position which the Indian States occupy in the Commonwealth. If I may be pardoned a personal note, during all my fifty-five years of public life, I have endeavoured to obtain for the Indian States their rightful place in the polity of India. And if I have fought for their rights I have never ceased to insist on their duties. Let us insist on both rights and duties. Federation without Frustration: Development without Domination: let this be our motto. A partnership of free peoples—this is the Commonwealth. To me, therefore, it is a gratification that in the constitution that is now being set up for India the fundamental principle has been recognised of an All-India Federation, in which Indian

States shall have their legitimate share in the formulation and execution of policies which will affect the well-being of India as a whole. For many years I have been convinced that it is only along these lines that a proper solution can be found for India's problems, and that the edifice of a self-governing India within the Commonwealth must be built on these wider and deeper foundations.

Just after the Great War I voiced this principle, which I had long held: and I am glad that to-day the details of such a scheme are being worked out by expert committees. This principle has now found firm adherents everywhere, and I earnestly hope and pray that soon—very soon—we may see the new constitution at work which shall give it full and fitting expression. And, if I may repeat here what I have said elsewhere, I am convinced that in this new order, Indian States, with their distinctive tradition, can play a notable part—a part which will redound to the benefit of India and of the Commonwealth.

As in a well-governed State the individual enjoys much freedom to develop his true self, so in the Commonwealth the success will be judged by the freedom of the parts to live and develop their true genius. India within the Commonwealth, the States within in India, demand to live a full and true life and to realise their hopes and aspirations in their own way.

I shall now conclude by thanking Sir Samuel Hoare for the kind words in which he has referred to me to-day, and wishing him success in the great task on which he is engaged: and expressing my gratitude to the East India Association for the honour it has done me.

"Religion in a Changing World." Opening Address at the Second World-Parliament of Religions at Chicago, 27th August 1933.

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me in calling upon me to open this great Conference.

It is, I think, a tribute to my ancient Mother India, truly a Grandmother of Religions: and I am a Great-grandfather many times so; perhaps I may address you in words which come out of a long life's experience.

This is a great time to be alive.

"Once more mankind has struck its tents: humanity is on the march", said General Smuts two years ago; and every passing month makes the words more significant. But does mankind know whither it is going?

We are in an age of ferment and chaos—but also of transition and awakening. As Lord Irwin said to us in India, "We need a change of soul". This is true not only in India. Science has united the world, but it is divided socially, economically and politically. Can religion accomplish its spiritual, and therefore its cultural, unification? Or, to put this in a catchword, "Man has become smarter, can he become more decent?" Can he change the furniture of his mind to suit the new world in which he finds himself? Can he rise to a new scale of values? He can weigh and analyse the farthest planet—can he organise the one he lives on?

He needs religion to inspire and to instruct him—but if religion is not to be a hindrance it must put its own house in order.

May we not say that it first needs "decoding"—that the

modern man may understand it, and then "debunking"—that the modern man may respect it.

Every great religious movement starts by this transvaluation and translation into the vernacular. Buddha transformed Brahminism by emphasising the human values, and by talking as the people talked. To-day we need to redefine much. India has its superb definition of the Godhead—Sat, Chit, Anand—Reality, Mind, Bliss. But these words are used in so transcendental a sense that all human values become relative. We need to insist that the Absolute expresses Himself in Time and Space, that the world we live in is real, that the mind that knows it is of the same essence as the mind that planned it—the mind of a mathematician and a poet; and still more that our bliss is His bliss, our sorrow His sorrow. God is Reality then, and Mind and Joy; and the world is His garment—His thought, His means of expressing His joy in creation. We blaspheme Him if we call it *Maya*, Illusion: and I assure you we are not all Śaṅkara's* and mystics in India. We have had our Materialists even, and many many Realists. If we have no Woolworth Towers, we have our Gwallior Forts, and Delhi Mosques. If we do not worship the dollar, we talk much of pice. The real practical Indian mind has been perverted by over-subtlety, but our great laymen, Sakyamuni, Krishna, Gandhi; and our humble saints, Kabir, Tukaram, Tulsidas, have given us what I believe you call horse-sense, and called us back to reality, and to the human values. These are the practical idealists of India.

Our Indian Ethic, great in its recognition of the four stages in life and of a duty for each class in the community, has been stultified by the emphasis on *Maya*, by the selfish-

* A great Monistic teacher, Śaṅkara has dominated India for ten centuries.

ness of Brahmins, by the hardening of class into caste, and by the dominance of the priestly and the world-denying groups. To-day Ethics are asking religion: "What can be more real than Goodness—more saintly than Service?"

The real mind of India is reasserting itself, and "Shudra" is to-day becoming not a term of reproach but an honourable title—and "Mahatma" implies friend of the poor: "our Great Soul" must be also "Great Heart".

Man must work for mankind *in* the world, not out of it? he must take his place gladly and frankly "at the festival of life", as our poet says.

"To do a man's work in an unselfish spirit is to find God", says the *Gita*.

It is men of such spirit that have built up "This brave New World": but through self-will—*Trishna* or *Tanha*—we are wrecking it, as *Gita* and Buddha insist.

The men of science, the doctors, the engineers, the social reformers, the religious seers, these are making all things new—fellow-workers with God; but selfishness, race-hatred, narrow nationalism and greed have thrown all into chaos.

Yet a new Cosmos is emerging: God is at work. He is a democratic King, and asks our help. He recognises no hierarchy but that of service. "He that is greatest, let him be the servant of all." He is greatest who serves most.

Democracy means also the emergence of the common man, and his rights, the demand of the backward peoples for a place in the sun. And alike in East and West, tyranny and humbug are challenged, for they deny these rights.

We in Asia see that race-prejudice may yet destroy the Commonwealth, that caste has been so perverted that it has brought India low. Once a matter of economic division of function, it is now a network of taboos, and varying degrees

of untouchability are the outcome. All Indian patriots—Brahmins and Kshatriyas leading—must roll away this reproach.

For to-day the emphasis is on personality, and caste which denies the right of every man to rise to his full stature began with a ringing affirmation that from the Great Being's own Person all the castes arose—for mutual service. This *Purusha Sukta* is recited daily at every Vaishnavite altar; but poetry has stiffened into prose, and a divine sanction is found for irreligious and immoral taboos. Where the hymn says that Brahmins were the mouthpiece it has been interpreted to mean that they are the brain.

The hymn insists that Society is an organism—and as in the body, one organ is as important as another. Our present rigid caste-system (which has grown up partly as a natural growth, but largely as an unnatural one) denies this, and it must go; we too desire that any boy or girl may rise to the highest rank. "Shall the foot say to the hand, or the brain to the heart, I have no need of thee?" There is no higher or lower—all are servants. All over the world religion is being challenged by the developing ethical ideals of mankind; religion that is un-ethical is a curse, not a boon. Yet religion is needed and will survive—for man is incurably religious. If there were no God, he would invent One. He is incurably inquisitive. If there were no First Cause, he would find One.

Religion is more than such quests. It is a cry for life, a yearning for reality, a demand for loyalty. Man needs a simple, strong, sincere and serene faith. He needs a rousing call to forget self, and to triumph over sense.

Christianity calls men to crucify the lower self. But it is paralysed by the snobbery and colour-ban of Christians. It

can do much if it recovers its true fundamentals—Love of a loving God, and love of men who are brothers.

We in India affirm that all creatures are one; but we have lost our sense of proportion. We spare malarial mosquitoes, and plague-bearing rats, but we bear heavily on the human family, and do harm to millions of our fellow-men. We must pray to be led back from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light, from exaggeration to balance. There is no God higher than the Truth, no Beauty without harmony.

What can true religion do? It is the pursuit of absolute values; and so it can insist that in an age of transition and chaos, certain values such as faith, hope, love; certain great principles such as partnership and self-sacrifice, abide. Religion is also the quest for reality and life: it must get rid of shams, and the dead hand of tradition and taboo, if it is to live and to be real. Again, it must express itself simply and clearly, so that the wayfaring man and the needy masses see it as bread and not a stone: it must remember the poor and the ignorant.

Perhaps the greatest problems of our time are peace and employment. Can religion cut at the roots of war, greed, exploitation, and at the roots of poverty and unemployment? Can scientific and religious man organise this planet as a unity? Can he ration the raw materials of the world in the interests of our common humanity? If so, and only if so, can he achieve peace, and set the hungry millions to work.

Our economic and political problems are ethical and spiritual problems. For man is spirit and cannot live by bread alone. What shall he give in exchange for his soul?

I quote these great sayings of Jesus, whom all religions honour: we can all unite in "The Lord's Prayer", in the

“Beatitudes”, and in the “Parable of the Lost Son” And each religion knows that it too has a word in season, and a contribution to the well-being of personality and of humanity at large We in India remember our ancient and ever-renewed quest for reality and light, even when we remind ourselves that we must find it not in some vague Absolute, but in life here and now

We remember our insistence on *Ahimsa*—non injury, even as we redefine it, and realise that exploitation and frustration are themselves injury, and that the innocent is one who does good, not merely one who refrains from doing evil

China, too, with her strong sense of human values, begins to remember the poor man, and to enlarge her idea of brotherhood not only “all within the four seas”, but all men everywhere are brothers Mandarins and Brahmins no less than capitalists and imperialists have forgotten this human brotherhood In it lies the solution of most of our problems We have a common fatherhood Nature or God has made of one blood all nations, and the religious believe that He is making the world a neighbourhood we must realise who is our neighbour Jesus said that he who acts like one is the real neighbour Buddha said that he who acts nobly is the nobleman Confucius said that the true gentleman is at home in any society To day we may learn from all God is ploughing deep furrows, that the seed may make an effective growth He is making all things new, that righteousness may flourish and war cease, and the world become one

You are wise and far-sighted in organising this Federation of Faiths let each put its own house in order, and let each bring out of its treasury things new and old for the healing of the nations What better expresses the spirit we need than

the saying of the Chinese Mystic twenty-five centuries ago: Activity without Assertiveness: Production without Possessiveness: Direction without Domination. This is very Christian, and we in India claim that we are by nature akin to the Christian ideal: we also acknowledge that Christ has challenged us to make our religion simpler and better.

You who call yourselves by the name of Christ may also learn from many who do not, not only from the august company of the great Teachers but from present-day leaders of the Asiatic Renaissance. Let us humbly and in the spirit of partnership combine against the common enemies—Ignorance, Selfishness and Materialism. Religions may differ, but Religion is one.

If we are servants of God's creation, we are His friends and fellow-workers. In bearing one another's burdens we become partners in His Bliss.

To Him be the Honour and Glory.

CXXXIX

At the Opening of the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference, Baroda, 27th December 1933

MR PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I need hardly assure you that I am much gratified at the honour you have done me in asking me to open the proceedings of the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference.

It gives me very great pleasure to-day to meet so large a body of distinguished orientalist assembled for this Conference. We, in Baroda, feel happy to find that you have chosen this city as the venue of your Conference, and hope

you will enjoy yourselves, and be interested in the modest programme we are able to offer you

I am sure our first feeling to-day is one of sadness for the loss of two of our most distinguished and veteran orientalists, I mean Sir J J Modi and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, who took so prominent a part in these proceedings by presiding at the fourth and fifth sessions respectively of your Conference

To-day, I recall to memory an old incident when I had the good fortune of opening the Baroda Session of the Sanskrit Conference, I could not conceal my disappointment at the way the learned Shastris were wasting their time in scholastic discussions, in learning and teaching the same age-old books, and harping on the same old tunes from generation to generation

As early as 1915 I asked the Pandits and Shastris to emulate the example of Western scholars, to broaden their vision and develop the historical sense. In one word, I asked them to modernise themselves, and prove their worth as useful members of society

I give you this account of my previous experience in order that you may realise how very pleased I feel to meet to-day so large a body of research scholars who have devoted themselves to their studies critically, in the true scientific spirit. It gives me, therefore, special satisfaction to welcome you to my capital, and to listen to your deliberations

What progress orientalists, both in India and in Europe, had made since pioneers like Sir William Jones first made such comparative research possible, has been admirably set forth by the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji in his learned address before the Second Session of this Conference, held in Calcutta in 1922. Since then, within the last ten or

eleven years further valuable work has been done. I do not feel competent to give a résumé of this great and varied work done by the admirable co-operation of scholars interested in oriental learning all the world over.

But I feel happy to think that by the co-operative endeavours of this enthusiastic band of devoted workers, much of that dark veil of ignorance regarding our past history and culture has been lifted and much that was dark even ten years ago has now become clearly illumined.

Gentlemen, I am no research student myself, but I can claim to be an humble devotee of learning. I have been watching for a long time with pleasure and admiration the noble work our Indian scholars are doing in elucidating our past history and culture. In my State also, I have endeavoured to give encouragement to that branch of research work which I consider to be the most substantial and of the highest value at the present juncture—I mean, the publication of original works of oriental literature, including Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, and even Persian, in a special series called the Gaekwar's Oriental Series. May it serve as a perennial source of information and inspiration to us—descendants of those great authors of past centuries.

Since 1915, the work has been going on unabated, and to-day the series has nearly seventy volumes to its credit. This I consider a very fair result, considering the immense labour involved in the study and preparation of each volume, where each line of the text has to be critically settled, and light from diverse quarters has to be skilfully focused on the work, the author, and their time and place.

I feel gratified indeed that my series of oriental publications has been deemed worthy of approbation by scholars all over the world. Through the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya

in my State, I am constantly endeavouring to help the Pandits, by giving them opportunities to learn English, and by prescribing texts embodying the results of historical and cultural research, for their examinations.

It is a matter of satisfaction to note that the endeavours of modern research scholars trained in Western methods embrace the whole field of ancient Indian life. The wonderful unfolding of the life of our remote ancestors in all its various phases, social, religious, political, economic, administrative, scientific, artistic, architectural, and linguistic, right from the dawn of history, appears to my mind to be a great romance of modern scholarship. Think of the discovery, the greatest since the advent of the British in India, of Mohenjo Daro alone, where some five thousand years ago the highly civilised and cultured people of the Indus valley lived in their fine and hygienic dwellings and registered their thoughts in beautiful hieroglyphic writings and seals of consummate artistry. I hope the lecture on these discoveries will be largely attended, and I wish personally to welcome my friend the Director of Archaeology.

One might dwell long upon a theme of such profound interest, but I tear myself away from it and turn, with your permission, to some modern problems of Indian scholarship. I seldom get an opportunity of meeting such a large body of orientalists, and therefore I venture to offer certain practical suggestions, not in a spirit of criticism but as a sincere well-wisher, for your consideration.

I often wonder why the practical aspect of research is so often neglected in India. I have some idea of the amount of concentrated effort necessary for research. And when a student finds his patient labours rewarded and sees a remote past yield up some of its secrets for the first time, he feels the

joys of a discoverer; this also I can appreciate to some extent. All the same, I hope my friends will bear with me when I point out that they have duties to perform to their less intellectual and less fortunate brethren. The research scholar is as much a member of society as any other, and has his own duty as a citizen of the time and place to which he belongs.

I have always kept the interest of the masses in the forefront of my administration. I have made education compulsory in my State, so that all may obtain facilities to educate themselves and go out into the world equipped by developing their intellectual faculties to the fullest extent possible.

I have always had the greatest admiration for Sanskrit, and for the practical knowledge and spiritual wisdom stored for all time in this great literature; but I could never be satisfied with merely getting the texts of the classics edited and published, which the masses—the men in the street—cannot utilise. In order that the masses also may share, and the gain become common property, a further labour of devoted love and scholarship is called for; the unearthed classics have to be translated into English and into the vernaculars; and the translations should be both as scientific as the profoundest learning and as readable as the greatest skill can make them. I have had a large number of Sanskrit works translated into Marathi and Gujrati. And later on, I made an endowment of two lakhs of rupees, from the interest of which I ordered the publication of a series of vernacular books containing translations of valuable works on various subjects from other languages, including Sanskrit. This series has now more than 300 volumes to its credit. I may mention here that I shall not be satisfied until our best

scholars turn their attention to their less intellectual fellow-men, and present to them the results of their researches in the vernaculars and in a form which may be readily intelligible to the masses. Nor must we neglect the urgent task of collecting and editing the folk-songs and folk-lore of the people.

This is a field of orientalism which is too much neglected: if we do not act now, much treasure will be for ever lost. The good earth will go on guarding sculpture and inscription and buried city, but the folk-ways change and the folk-songs are no longer sung. With our new ways of recording, such as gramophone records, and our new ways of popularising, such as the radio, we may preserve and perpetuate this ancient culture. I call you to this task of preserving and of recovering our precious heritage and of making it available to the people.

Then, there are the burning social questions of the day arising out of the contact of two opposing cultures, of the West and the East. These problems have to be handled boldly, intelligently and in a true human spirit. They have all a bearing on ancient literature and civilisation, and they all have their roots in our ancient customs. The research worker here finds his greatest opportunity to render valuable service, with his superior knowledge of the ancient texts and his intimate acquaintance with the various phases of ancient thought. He can lay his finger on the period at which particular privileges and restrictions arose, and inform us about the dangers against which those customs were intended as safeguards. In other ways, too, he can employ his expert knowledge to take us behind the letter to the spirit, and so enable us to judge all the better why and what alterations are called for in our very different times and

circumstances. No society can maintain its position and its vigour for long by mere conservatism. Let us cling to the old, by all means, as long as it continues to suit us; but with every great change in the circumstances, customs have also to be recast. Otherwise the more we cling to the letter the less shall we be able to maintain in us the spirit of our great ancestors. And who are better qualified to lead us in this field of our manifest duty than our great research savants, who read century after century of our long history like an open book?

In my library of the Oriental Institute, as I already told you, only seventy volumes have been published, and this, out of a library of nearly 20,000 works. At Patan, in the Mehsana District of my territories, we have no less than 13,000 manuscripts, in the world-famous Bhandars of the Jains, and most of these remain unpublished. I do not know how many hundreds of years it will take at this rate to publish even the most important works discovered in my State alone. You know well the condition of other famous libraries at Poona, Calcutta, Madras, Benares, Nepal, Oxford, London, Berlin, Paris, and other places. Hasty and premature compilations or editions without a complete survey of all available matter are of course useless; they are even worse, since hasty generalisations and crude theories do not really further knowledge or understanding at all. Let us always cling to our own high standards.

Original research adds to our stock of facts and ideas; but every one of the new ideas it puts forth must be well digested, every one of the new facts it claims to discover must be scientifically authenticated. Mere novelty in speculation and mere boldness in assertion avail merely to start a controversial flutter here and there. I repeat, let us always cling

to our high standards. And here, if I may, I wish to say a word of warning to our Universities, young as well as old: your theses the world of scholars will judge, not by their bulk, novelty or number, but solely by the qualities of ripe judgment, critical acumen and scientific method.

Thus I expect the research scholar to be also an original worker and a deep thinker of sound judgment. The number of such leaders in the advancing march of knowledge must needs be small. Besides, for many decades only such of our best qualified *alumni* can receive the necessary training for this exacting line as can proceed to Europe or America and spend years at the feet of great scholars. I hope, however, that with the increase in the Universities, academics and archaeological departments in our own land, the need for such long periods, so far away from home, will diminish, and that we shall soon be able to train a sufficient number at home.

It is only as such increase materialises that we can expect a living interest in these subjects, so vital to our all-round progress, to spread even among our intelligentsia. How extremely limited such interest is to-day, I may be permitted to suggest by a concrete instance. In the Gaekwar's Oriental Series, we are printing only 500 copies of each work, and of this small number 125 copies are being distributed free to libraries and distinguished orientalists. In spite of this, it takes an average period of fifteen to twenty years to dispose of the remaining stock of 375 copies. Had the sales been more encouraging, it would have given me immense pleasure to redouble the grant for the series. Does this not show that there is a sad dearth of original workers as yet? Does it not also prove that the general interest to-day even amongst our intelligentsia is as yet almost negligible? I stress this point of our backwardness to-day in the hope that it may soon become a thing of the past.

The value of translations which are both *summarily* and readable I have already indicated from the point of view of statesmanship, seeking to better the condition of our masses. And from this point of view the value of good translations, with all the apparatus needed by the man in the street to place a century or an author before his mind's eye as a living entity, is certainly far in excess of the value of such second-rate theses and ill-digested excursions into our past culture as some of our Universities, I hear, are rewarding with high degrees. May I humbly suggest to these high academic authorities that they give such degrees to model edition also?

Gentlemen, I need not repeat here the oft-quoted maxim that the proper study of mankind is man. We should not only study him as he is to-day, but also in his gradual transformation from the primitive stage to the highest civilised condition, his hopes and fears, his slow ascent through various ups and downs, as in a spiral. And for this we have to take the help of Palæontology, Comparative Philology, Comparative Archæology, Ethnology, Anthropology, Comparative Religion and Mythology, and even Geology; and the final conclusions must harmonise with the results achieved in all these different branches of scientific investigation.

Though the modes of East and West are different, they are nevertheless complementary to one another, and it is of the utmost advantage to mankind that each should develop on its own characteristic lines. And if this be true, it follows also that each of the two complementary halves should study the other. But, of course, within each of these halves, there are many varieties and stages of civilisation. Men can only understand the world in which they live when they know the development of culture in various ages and lands:

Thus while we Indians should know our own history, to be seen in proper perspective it has to be studied as part of Asiatic history, and requires at the same time some insight into the cross-fertilisation of cultures and the migrations of races both eastwards and westwards, with the consequent conflict and synthesis of cultures. It is time our Universities appreciated this aspect of modern education, and included courses in these fields in the general curriculum of schools and colleges. Existing courses can be easily enriched by lectures dealing with these aspects of Indian history, art and politics; and an additional course should be given on China and Japan. The countries of Asia must understand one another and prepare to work out a new partnership in the light of past cultural relations.

I do not wish further to encroach upon your valuable time; I feel I am keeping you from the sumptuous intellectual feast that is awaiting you. I only wish to remind you that the profession of research scholar is one of the hardest yet noblest callings of modern times. Materialists as we have become to-day, there are only a few men available who are intellectually so advanced as to appreciate, admire and devote themselves to this kind of work. You will, therefore, encounter many difficulties, often very serious ones; but I would ask you not to be discouraged, but to pursue your studies with optimism and determination, that you may shine as beacon-lights to guide and inspire your fellow-men.

I now declare the Conference open with the mantra our forefathers used on such occasions:

May this start conduce to well-being.

At the Makar-Sankrant Durbar, 14th January 1934.

It is my pleasant duty to-day to recognise the services of one of our officers by conferring on him an order of distinction, on the eve of his retirement. As you know, it is the duty of a Prince to be able to find out the qualities of his officers; to appreciate the good qualities and to deprecate the bad ones. Thus officers are encouraged to do better work for the advancement of the State and the Maharaja.

To reward good and conscientious work is one of the privileges of a ruler and it, therefore, gives me great pleasure to confer upon Mr Newton Dutt a medal of distinction.

Mr Dutt has worked hard for several years in my State, and the success of the Library movement is, to a great extent, due to his zeal and efforts. I wish him long life and every happiness, and I hope he will enjoy his well-earned rest in England, where, I am told, he is going to spend his days after his retirement.

On the occasion of the Prize Distribution at Kala Bhavan, Baroda, 15th January 1934.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to be with you here and to see in you, Students of this College, in what you have achieved, and in your enthusiasm, the living signs of the good work the Institution has done. We heard the details of your progress and your ambitions have been well expressed by your Principal.

There are difficulties in expanding the limits of the Institution, which some may find narrow; and even its successful

students find it not easy to secure profitable work on leaving this College armed with certificates and diplomas; but such difficulties are inevitable in all achievements, and if met with energy and patience, lead to good and lasting results. Do not feel discouraged by them. Until the means of the people and the material wealth of the country expand, there cannot be the fullest demand for qualified young men, and for useful work such as our Kala Bhavan turns out. When the people co-operate earnestly and intelligently, the results are bound to be more encouraging.

Once more I would emphasise here the vital value and necessity of co-operation in all things, and I trust my people are at last becoming fully alive to it, and will soon reap the rich harvest which will be their due, and which I am doing all in my power to place in their hands.

It is for the most part mutual distrust and want of co-operation that paralyse Indian industry. Habits of censorious judgment destroy trust and tolerance which are the indispensable lubricants of efficiently and smoothly working organisations for the good of all.

Healthy development of character and education in high moral standards lead naturally to loyal and fruitful co-operation.

It is in particular for Engineers—by Engineers here I am using the term in its broadest sense, including architects, mechanics, artisans and all workers in the various branches of engineering, for which most of you in this College are being trained—that collaboration is a *sine qua non* to success. The very essence of your work is to collaborate intelligently, to work hand in hand together not only amongst yourselves, but with the public whom it is your function to serve. Poetic license is not of your sphere; you are the servants of

humanity, whether you assist in building hospitals or roads or railways, or in running factories and industries. Let me remind you of noble words, spoken to your profession :

An Engineer must remember that he is not merely the piecemeal executor of certain tasks, but a builder and architect in the mighty and ever perfectible scheme of things of which his small individual task at any time is, or is likely to become, a corporate element.

He must not confine himself to finish what appears a perfectly correct job in his own radius of power, and rest satisfied because he has safeguarded his responsibilities however strictly defined they may appear in black and white on his rules of office, but his judgment must soar higher, and help to link his work with that of others.

He must so model and fashion it that it will link and fit and merge into the inter-connected order of things of which his own achievement is but a unit.

He must for ever strive to bring this unit, however modest, into full harmony with the rest of the Scheme.

He must have a wider horizon than the scope of his own work. Inasmuch as he is a builder, he is providing for the future, and while giving his attention to the present, must always look beyond.

There is no need to remind an Engineer that an immature or hasty recommendation on his part may have far-reaching effects.

When designing such small details in themselves as a locomotive piston rod or part of the truss of a bridge, he is providing for the safety of human life and helping to safeguard the working of no less a public institution than a mail train or a vital road or rail communication.

He must weigh his actions and words. They both carry material effect and he must endeavour to keep them measured on truth.

For the Engineer is by definition a Truth seeker; the laws of Material cannot be cheated.

He will know how to work shoulder to shoulder and in goodwill and understanding with his fellow-engineers and with all men whose paths of duty will bring their own schemes in contact with his.

The Architect in designing a building will have an eye to alignment and site and style in keeping with the street and its other buildings.

The City Engineer in planning his streets will have Town Improvement in mind, and the Directors of cities will endeavour to develop them into corner-stones of a prosperous and healthy State.

Thus good Engineers, working hand in hand, are each and all Empire Builders.

As an expression of Human activity, Engineering is the mightiest profession. The Engineer's hand is found in every palpable achievement.

Engineers, you should be proud of this, and *noblesse oblige* must strive to be worthy of your noble profession.

My first aim in founding this Institute was to provide practical training for artisans, to give them all facilities for acquiring art and proficiency in the callings or vocations of their choice, so that they should on leaving this school enter the other and greater school of life itself, armed with knowledge and competence, and with the confidence and the courage born of knowledge. In all my travels I have been impressed with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of other nations.

Train up artisans first—that is the foundation. Having a base to our building, and its logical ground-floor, we can add other floors, and we then may put on a dome or a tower or anything else. Some will want a dome, some will prefer a tower. But all will agree on the foundation; the all-important thing is to decide the base and lay it down.

It is easier to decide, to find agreement, on a solid foundation on which any type of building may afterwards be developed, than to try and get agreement on the domes or type of roof or style of windows. So without wasting time on

trying first to decide such details, always have a clear idea of your foundation first and lay that down. You will then discover you have made an important step forward, and that the ensuing steps will follow with greater and greater ease, each one gradually circumscribing the problem and pointing the way to the next step, so that the edifice as an intelligent whole grows naturally and takes shape harmoniously.

In all things we must begin with the proper foundation and this is a little maxim which may help you a lot in life.

So in our Kala Bhavan we have realised a school of Vocational Training. We are short in depth—by that I mean depth of our curriculum, and the standard of higher learning covered by the diploma courses compared with colleges like that, for instance, of the City of London. We know our limitations. Our depth is for the time being sufficient to suit local requirements. But if we are short in depth, we are ample in breadth, as we embrace engineers and artists covering a wide field of pursuits.

This breadth of scope gives artists and engineers a chance of working side by side—rubbing shoulders together to the benefit of both, so that merely by pleasant association and without effort, all can learn a little and appreciate the beauties and utilities of the work of the others. It is not good for any one to work and think only in the rut of his own vocation or profession, just as it is not good to associate exclusively with people of one's own caste or creed. And here we come to an important point:

Education is not synonymous with Instruction. Education implies character-building, the fostering of good manners, and the developing of wisdom, besides supplying to each the instruction and knowledge necessary to equip the

student for his future sphere. And so this College is a House of Education, it has not only breadth in grouping all the several arts I have mentioned, but it has that other breadth of bringing you together, young men of all creeds and castes, united as brothers in your common aspirations of learning, your school life, your studies and your sports.

If you are nurtured in the ideas of one caste or creed all the time, you are handicapped, and your manhood will not come to full fruition. It is by opening your mind to see and understand sympathetically the view-points, creeds and ideas of others that you develop and bloom into wise men.

With this object—that it shall be a House of Education—I have established this practical school of learning.

As I have had occasion to say once before: "Wisdom, which is the principal attainment, that is to say the essence, of good education, does not result from cramming the mind with mere dry facts. It is the balanced mind, the educated view, that perceives the relations of all things, that is reverent to what is great and disaffected by what is small". Having spoken of Wisdom as the essential fruit of education, I must now speak of Character, which it is also the function of good education to build up. Character is a trait next in importance to Wisdom only, and it is so important that no matter how much a man may have of Wisdom he will not be able to find full and useful expression for it if he lacks character. Without Character as a means of expression, the beneficent use of his wisdom will be stultified.

The prize-distribution day in college life is a Red-letter day. It marks a step forward, and focuses attention; it is a wholesome tonic that gives incentive to further steps of higher study or achievement in real practical life. We must never forget that achievement in real, practical life is the

ultimate object of every one, be it the teacher who prepares the way for others, or the artisan or engineer or man of action who actually forges the well-being of his fellow-men, or the artist—painter, poet, man of letters, musician—who cultivates beauty which is as essential to the pulse of life as material well-being.

The joy of this Red-letter day is the fruit of your labours during the year: it does not spring from the virtue of the day itself, but from what a whole year of days has gradually built up: its value is not in what it has itself built up, which may be less than what was built on any other one day, but it lies in what has been achieved by the days behind, and in the will and purpose of your mind to build up in the days to come.

This, the will and ambition to succeed in the future, whatever the past, rich or poor in results, is the most important, and it may be summarised in the shortest and perhaps the best motto of all which consists of one word, and it is "FORWARD". By being present here to-day, not only looking with satisfaction on the past and the deserved laurels you have achieved, but having in your mind this firm purpose of looking with a will towards the future, you are giving majesty to this day and making it indeed the annual Red-letter day of the Institute.

It is in this spirit that I feel happy in being amongst you now. And in announcing that I shall endeavour to make this *one of my regular engagements.*

On unveiling the Statue of Dadabhai Naoroji, Navsari, 19th January 1934.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We have met here to-day to honour the memory of one of India's greatest sons. We have met to unveil the Statue of Dadabhai Naoroji—the grand old man of Hindustan. To quote the late Mr Gokhale, “Dadabhai Naoroji has attained in the hearts of millions of his country-men, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy, and which is more like the influence which great teachers of humanity have exercised on those whose thoughts and hopes and lives they have lifted to a higher plane. He is one of the most perfect examples of the highest types of patriotism that any country has ever produced”.

Dadabhai Naoroji was born one hundred and eight years ago of a Parsi priestly family, and, in spite of a most active and indeed strenuous life, attained the ripe age of ninety-two years. He had the misfortune to lose his father at the age of four years, but the loss of one parent was compensated by the love and devotion of his mother, who, with the aid of her brother, managed to give him the best education then available. At the Elphinstone Institution, now known as the Elphinstone College, where he was sent to study, young Naoroji carried off most of the prizes and exhibitions open to him. He subsequently remained in his college, first as assistant in mathematics, and afterwards as full professor. He was in fact the first Indian to attain to such a post in this country. This appointment was always declared by him to be the most prized of all his honours. “Reading”, he said, “is my delight, and many a school-fellow and pupil call me

Dadabhai Professor to this day." During his stay in Bombay until 1855, Mr Naoroji was active in support of many causes, including the establishment of a girl's school in the face of the fierce opposition of the orthodox and in organising and improving the status of educational and social institutions such as the Literary and Scientific Society, the Widows' Re-marriage Association, the Framji Cavasji Institute, the Parsi Gymkhana and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Even these efforts did not complete the tale of his enthusiastic activities. In 1851 he started the *Rast Goftar* ("Truth-Teller") as the organ of the advanced and progressive party in order to further religious, social and educational reforms. By this time Mr Dadabhai Naoroji tells us "the thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me, and must devote myself to their service". The young reformer found further scope for his patriotic labours when he was sent to London as representative partner of the Bombay firm of Cama & Co. Thus commenced his series of activities in England, where he felt it his mission to educate the British people in the affairs of India. With this end in view he started the London India Society, and associated himself with the East Indian Association, and was appointed Professor of Gunarati at University College, London. Unfortunately Mr Naoroji's firm came to grief, but such was the reputation which he had acquired that his creditors had full trust in his capability and integrity, and engaged him to help them in winding up the firm. He managed to overcome his financial difficulties and returned to Bombay in 1869. He was in England again in 1873, and gave evidence before the Fawcett Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance. His

views as to the causes of India's financial distresses met with hot opposition from Indian financial experts, but were subsequently accepted in the main by the Government of India in the person of Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer). During the unrestful days of Maharaja Malhar Rao, Mr Nao-roji was asked to take the post of Dewan of Baroda, and found the task most difficult; but his views were vindicated by the British Government, and many of the reforms he advocated were afterwards carried into effect by Sir T. Madhav Rao, his successor as Dewan. In 1885 he took an active part in the establishment of the First Indian National Congress, which was held in Bombay under the Presidency of the late W. C. Banerjee. Next year found him in England contesting the Parliamentary seat of Holborn. Although he failed on this occasion, he was by no means daunted, and on his return to India he was elected President of the Second Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1886. In 1892 the electors of Central Finsbury sent him to Parliament as their representative. The success of the first Indian to a Parliamentary seat caused great enthusiasm in India, and in 1893 he was again elected President of the Indian National Congress, and yet a third time in 1906. Bombay University conferred on him the degree of LL.D. in 1916, and the following year this devoted patriot and reformer passed away at the ripe age of ninety-two, deeply regretted by all. In various works, pamphlets, and speeches, such as "Poverty and un-British Rule in India", and in the evidence he submitted to numerous committees and commissions he ably discussed the main cause of the poverty of India, and helped in a large measure to ameliorate the condition of the country to which he was so devoted.

Mr Naoroji, as you are well aware, was a member of the Zoroastrian community, a community, small indeed in actual numbers, in fact counting less than 110,000 throughout all India, but influential by reason of their wealth, education and munificence out of all proportion to their actual numbers. When we consider that the Parsis count amongst their number such great names as Dadabhai Naoroji, J. N. Tata, Sir Dinsba Wachha, Sir P. Mehta, Sir J. Jeebhoy, Sir J. N. Petit, Sir C. Jahangir, and numerous other worthy citizens, we realise that many of the Zoroastrians have employed the wealth which they have acquired by trade and commerce in beneficial schemes not only for their own community but for all India.

In this my loyal and prosperous city of Navsari, a stronghold of the Zoroastrian religion, I am happy to note that the Baroda Raj possesses no fewer than 7000 Zoroastrians, and I have had the opportunity of employing many of them in various capacities in my administration.

In many respects the Zoroastrians remind us of another small community, the Huguenots who were so cruelly persecuted by the French kings, and fled to foreign countries rather than embrace Catholicism. In England especially they were warmly received by the judicious Queen Elizabeth, and under her protection they flourished, and introduced several new industries, such as paper-making, silk and woollen industries, pottery and the like.

Why, I ask, do we erect statues and other memorials to great benefactors and inventors? Is it to confer any benefit on those whom we thus seek to honour? Many of them have already passed away. No! These memorials are for our benefit, for our own example. Abraham Lincoln ably expressed these views in his historic speech on the battle-field

of Gettysburg, when consecrating the graves of those who fell to uphold the cause of freedom:

In a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living or dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or to detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us, to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a birth freedom, and that the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

This, my friends, was spoken over the battle-field during the cruel and destructive Civil War. But

Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war,

and the patriot whose statue we unveil to-day was, in the providence of God, empowered to struggle for his country with peaceful arms—the weapons of argument and of effective reason and persuasion.

CXLIII

On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Girls' School of The Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Bombay, 26th February 1934.

(1)

I congratulate you all on a great achievement. You have been pioneers of education for nearly a century: it is a

noble record, and memories of such men as Dadabhai Naoroji will be a continual encouragement to us all to go forward with confidence and faith in this great task. I have just unveiled a statue in my State of this great patriot.

Ours is an intricate and difficult task. But it is, above all, a spiritual task. The women's movement is an important part of the great tide of democracy, which began to flow in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but which had its beginnings far back in history. When Plato wrote of the soul and its ideal development, and Jesus spoke of man's priceless possession of personality, and Paul made his great declaration that in Christ was neither male nor female: when our own ancestors conceived of God as Mother as well as Father, and symbolised this as Ardba-Narishwar (अर्ध नारीश्वर), then the seeds of this movement were sown.

But the inertia of humanity is immense, and great ideals have to await the right moment for their realisation. The notion of society based on servitude gave place very slowly to that of society based upon individual freedom; man had to wait for the slow growth of technology before slavery could be abolished, and woman must be partly set free from the all-absorbing duties of the house before she can fully develop her culture. The spiritual ideal has to await the material means for its realisation. Then "the word is made flesh".

We stand at such a dramatic moment in history, when "all things are becoming new". The great and the homely are inextricably bound up. To give but one example: India needs labour-saving devices in order that women shall not be drudges. How costly is our simplicity—hours of patient work go to the making of a meal! We do not want this to be neglected, but meantime we may venture to say what

kind of wives and daughters we desire. We do not quite want to side with the Kaiser in his dictum—*kinder, kuche, kirche*—children, cooking, church—in limiting the sphere of woman. Yet we do want to avoid the “blue-stocking” and the “flapper.” These are two unpleasing extremes, which modern movements have produced. We want on the other hand to advance beyond the meek submissive *Sita* ideal*, and to find intellectual and spiritual partners as wives and mothers. What nobler ideal is there than this of the *Raghu-vamsha*?

• गृहिणी सचिव सखीमित्र ।

प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधी ॥

(Thou wert my wife, thou my chancellor, thou art my companion in solitude, my beloved pupil in the fine arts.)

Our old *Shāstras* insist that women are always mothers, wives and daughters. They usually are! And we in India believe also that our old books are right in insisting that God or Nature made men and women different, and set limits to the functions of each.

Modern education cannot safely ignore the facts of Nature. As Huxley wittily said, “What was settled by the protozoa cannot be changed by act of parliament.” Physiology and Psychology both insist on a different curriculum for girls and boys. Sociology adds its words of warning. As our Indian poet says, “Man is one wheel of the chariot—woman the other, if the car of life is to move smoothly to the goal of happiness.” Men and women are by nature complementary—each is an end, not a means. recognising this, let not nurture conflict with nature.

You probably find that subjects requiring imaginative

* The faithful wife of Rama in the *Ramayana*

and intuitive perception appeal to girls—languages, music, literature, art and domestic science. And it is these which we men believe to be necessary for women.

To make an efficient and cultured home—what nobler ideal can a girl have and promote! To be a companion to husband and children, or to make a school which is also a home—this is the natural sphere for women.

॥ गृहं तु गृहिणीहीनं कान्तारादतिरिच्यते ॥

(A home without a housewife is worse than a forest.)

In politics and in various forms of social service too, there is ample room for women's gifts of imagination, tact, and sympathy: nor are the rigorous requirements of the medical and nursing professions beyond the strength of many women. Yet the strain is very great; and the physiological facts of puberty and adolescence must be very carefully studied in the pre-professional stages of education for these high callings.

Till the age of twenty, when the nervous system is likely to be stable, education should be general and not specialised, and before this age, cramming or intense study should be avoided. I am confident that your teachers have such facts in mind. But have you, young ladies? Girls often work harder than boys. They should not. Beware of over-work: in girls it is a sin: in all of us it is a mistake.

Nor should sports be overdone. Nature did not mean you to become Amazons. I doubt if even hockey, as English girls play it, is an ideal game for you. But you know more of these things than I. What I wish to say is this—study the problem for yourselves. Evolve your own ideal curriculum, and base your findings on scientific knowledge and observation. India needs the right kind of feminism. She should

profit by the mistakes as well as the achievements of the West and of Japan.

Let her never forget the words of Manu—

॥ यत्र नायस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः ॥

(The Gods rejoice when women are respected.)

And respect means esteem and intelligent understanding.

I need not urge you to be in all things worthy of respect—
“growing in grace, and in favour with God and man”.

(n)

“I come now to the second part of my address, “What is the modern spirit?” There is much confused thinking here. Some are more concerned with license than with liberty. Many are more interested in novelty than in truth.

But, behind these extravagances, there is a passion for reality. We are sick of shams and of hypocrisy. We desire to lay bare the Truth, however unsightly it may be. We demand freedom from the dead hand of the past. External authority must give place to inner compulsion.

A second hall-mark of the modern spirit is its quest for partnership. In the home first; but also in the school, the business and the state, men and women are finding that nothing else will work. This means democracy. And if you girls learn here the passion for Truth and the spirit of Partnership, you will be well fitted for the great as well as for the little tasks of life. In its “long littleness” we mortals must achieve greatness, and put on immortality—doing its small duties in a great spirit. That is to live splendidly—and what is education for, if not to teach us this?

And lastly, if this is an age of probing and of partnership, it is also an age that calls for pioneers and prophets.

Some of you are called to new tasks and new ventures such as nursery schools, prenatal care of mothers, new and scientific study of children; some to the prophetic task of re-interpretation and reform. India needs, above all else, the ministry of noble women in these new fields.

To make the world a better and a nobler place—this is what we are here for. And India needs a Jane Addams in every slum, a Pandita Ramabai in every district, a Florence Nightingale in every hospital, a Margaret Macmillan in a thousand schools, besides skilled and intelligent mothers and wives in scores of millions of homes.

A school such as this is a true temple of the spirit. May I remind you of the noble words addressed to Saraswati?

अपूर्वः कोऽपि कोशोऽयं विद्यते तव भारते ।

व्ययतो वृद्धिमायाति ज्ञयमायाति संचयात् ॥

(Oh Goddess of Learning, what a marvellous treasury hast thou! Spend, and it becometh full. Hoard, and lo! it is empty.)

CXLIV

On the occasion of unveiling a Statue of Shivaji, Baroda, 8th March 1934

Amidst the dust of controversy stands the figure of the rugged Shivaji. We honour him to-day, blinded by neither the chauvinism which makes him a very God—an incarnation of Shiva—nor by the prejudice which calls him “mountain rat” and “traitor”. When called “wild monkey”, he replied, “I am, if you like, Hanuman”. That is a good image of his devotion and courage.*

* Hanuman, King of the Apes, is the faithful lieutenant of Rama in the *Rāmāyana*

He was a patriot of Maharashtra, and must be seen in his setting of time and place.

Son of a rugged and a poor land, he is no bad foil to the wealth and pomp of the Moghul Court: child of our western Indian renaissance, he played his part in the popular movement for freedom and self-expression. This was a wave of religious nationalism, which passed through many parts of India, and was perhaps strongest in the west. Its twin stars were the love of Home and devotion to *Dharma*.

The Marathas have always been a sturdy and homely people, rooted in the soil, loving their own hearths and doing things in their own way; and in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they produced men of letters like Namdev, Ekanath, Tukaram and Ramdas, who were also men of the people, and were inspired by religion which was real and virile; and in the person of Shivaji, they had as leader a patriot and a skilled general, who, against terrific odds, welded them into a nation.

Leading a peasant army of Spartan simplicity and endurance, he defied not only the western kingdoms, but the Great Moghul himself; and on this occasion, I may compare him, not unfitly, with the late King Albert, whom we all mourn. You will remember the famous cartoon of 1914, in which he is being taunted by the Kaiser, who points to the desolated fields of Flanders, saying, "You see I have taken it all from you". "Yes", replies the King, "but not my soul." So Shivaji fought for the soul of Maharashtra against the fanatic who sat in the august seat of Akbar, and against the oppression of his people. It was a spiritual as well as a nationalist revolt.

We may recognise without fear of contradiction that the policy of Aurangzib in reversing the tolerant attitude of his

House was one of the Seven Blunders of history. It led, as such fanaticism must, to disunion and weakness. And Shivaji was the soul of Hindu India in revolt.

He showed that the venerable tree of Hinduism was not dead, and that the spirit of the old feudal society was not easily to yield to oppression. He showed that men of a local and servile group could be morally great, and that the Ruler even in turbulent times can be just, strict even to an erring son, chaste in his private life, magnanimous to his associates, devoutly religious yet tolerant and benevolent to his people, and whenever he had time, careful for the rights of farmers and peasants. Even the Portuguese historians of the day praise him for this, and it is clear that in the intervals of fighting he organised a State. Considering his circumstances, we can see how much he towered above his contemporaries and followers.

Personal magnetism goes a long way in calling out devoted service, and this he had; but he could build no enduring structure, and he bequeathed a spirit rather than an organism to his people. The causes which gave him his chance—civil conflict and internal weakness—also led to his failure. While he laid a firm foundation for the Maratha Empire and while his successors such as Shahu I (1707-1749) built a noble superstructure, this did not last even two centuries. The chief reason was that the race was not prepared for the new powers of the West, which now appeared to challenge a divided and unawakened India. Are we yet fully awake to the implications and powers of the West? This is an interesting subject; but our present object is rather, as Ramdas said to Shivaji's son, "To remember his personal greatness"; let us do so sanely and temperately.

I do not, in fact, believe that hero-worship is wholly

good; and if the hero be a man of violence—however, his circumstances made this inevitable—we do harm to ourselves and society by idealising him and idolising him. The soldier-ideal has always its limitations, and in his stormy career they were many and obvious.

Let us see in him rather a symbol of the century which produced him, and of the folk-ways of our forefathers. If he was the expression of a new tide of life, he was also a life-giver, and this we can all be. The giants of the Deccan of the Middle Ages were carpenters, potters, even scavengers by birth; yet they made history. We are not merely creatures of our age, we can also be creators. We can shape it, and, by moral integrity and devotion to duty as we see it, work out on our small stage the solution of larger problems. Shivaji had no great advantage of birth or position. That a humble son of Maharashtra should become a nation-builder, and, in the teeth of three great powers, weld a weak and scattered people into a nation—that was a noteworthy achievement. That he should take hirelings and make them into patriots is the perennial inspiration of his life for us all.

We, who have long suffered from invasion and oppression, look to him as the inspiration, too, of more pacific paths to freedom, constructive human engineering and a moral equivalent for war. The heroic spirit may still find abundant scope, and his example inspires us to live magnanimous and courageous lives. Nor should we forget in these rather sceptical days that he was sincerely and devoutly religious, devoted not only to the local gods, but to the orthodox *Dharma* of his people. A religious patriot, he has been compared by my chief engineer to Joan of Arc—and in unveiling this statue we are kindling the fires of devotion to home and duty.

On the occasion of the Karsandas Mulji Centenary Celebrations, Bombay, 19th March 1934.

How often in history has the struggle between prophet and priest been repeated!

"I was neither a priest nor a leader", said the Hebrew Amos three thousand years ago—as he called his nation from religiosity to true religion.

"I hate your abominations and your temple rituals: let justice flow down in an unfailing stream"; so he announced the oracle of God to a corrupt priesthood.

So in our own land the great reformer Gautama Buddha, also a layman, called men from ritual to righteousness, from sacrifices of animals to offerings of a pure heart and kind deeds.

Ritual is only good when it is the outward expression of inward truth: priests are most useful when they are prophets also of social righteousness. But many of our Hindu priests had forgotten this: they had become corrupt and had made their temples, which should be centres of light, into dreadful caves of iniquity. Karsandas dared to shed the white light of truth upon their dark deeds, and to be outcasted by his own sect and family. Happy man! "Blessed are ye, when men shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for the sake of truth." So we may apply the beatitude of Jesus to him.

We all know the story of how the young crusader won a great moral victory; and we also know that like all such victories it has to be pressed home, if the old abuses are not to raise their evil heads again. Trishna* is indeed hydra-headed; and we must all carry on the work of this spiritual

* Thirst, i.e. Evil Desire.

warrior against entrenched evil, which is often the corruption of the good.

Greed, lust and selfishness are rampant in many forms, and superstition dies hard; it has scriptural authority to keep it alive. What was nobly said in symbols, men have interpreted literally—what was meant literally, they have taken as mere symbolism. And our national life has suffered, till a leading politician—himself a Brahmin—said recently that if our marriage-laws are to be reformed and our family life made healthy, we must make war on priests and *Shāstras*. War is sometimes useful; but peaceful reform is far better. Evolution rather than revolution is our Indian way.

Let us help priests, institutions and writings to be true to their better selves. Bad practices must be fought; but this is best done by encouraging good ones. I have found in a long lifetime that reform is best carried out if it is done by releasing the truth from its bonds, awakening the dormant spirit, finding, if we can, the true meaning behind the false letter, reading the symbol aright. The Krishna stories are picture-language for the people: we cannot replace them; but literalism makes them a hindrance: it may make them an evil.

It is time we insisted that those who have the care of souls are as carefully trained as those who care for the bodies of men. Who shall teach the teachers? Maybe it is again time for us laymen to assert the true human values, and to get a better theology and ethic established in religious centres, and in training-schools of religion. Ought not *all* schools to be such centres of religion? Secularism is no solution of our problems.

Is it time for a restatement of Hinduism? "Feed the thin man, not the fat bull. Wed the woman to the man who is

physically and mentally suited to her. Insist that life is good, not evil. Educate young people in sex-hygiene and morality. See that women and children—roots of the great tree of life—are given a better chance of mental and moral sanity. Insist that each is an end in himself or herself, not a means." All these are ideals as yet unrealised. They are indeed not yet even accepted as ideals.

In the renaissance of our country, such men as Karsandas are pioneers as well as prophets; we must have reformation as well as renaissance. Let us honour them by carrying on their work, and following their example. The battle for the widows' rights is not yet won: nor that for a saner marriage-law: nor that for the education of girls.

The inertia of humanity is great and *homo sapiens* is often very foolish and very cruel. Athens, the home of freedom, killed her greatest son; Israel, the country of the prophets, slew many of them. "Your fathers have killed the prophets and ye build their monuments", said the greatest son Israel. One can sympathise too with Bernard Shaw, who says that when he goes to a zoo he takes off his hat to the monkeys and apologises for man.

What an august procession are those persecuted for righteousness and truth; and those who have been ostracised or exiled are a great company, whom none can number. Even in China, a tolerant and hospitable land, making much of reason, great rulers like the First Emperor, great statesmen like Wang An Shih and great poets Li Po and Su Tung Po were defamed or exiled. And what is our patient and gentle nation to say about its Harischandras and Pralhads, its Narsinh Mehtas, Tukarams, Kabirs and Pantulus? All these suffered much for truth, and in their noble company is Karsandas Mulji.

Another aspect of Karsandas Mulji's brief life I must mention. He showed in his *Satyaprakasha** and elsewhere the enormous power of the press for such educational work. The force of mass-suggestion, day after day, on impressionable minds—men, women and children, who read little but the daily papers—what an incalculable power it is for good or evil! If the journalist is a jackal with a nose for offal, he can poison a nation; if he is one who thinks on what is noble and lovely and of good report, he becomes indeed a messenger of Light. Such was Karsandas; and such are many journalists—thank God. But their task is a hard one, and we of the public alone can make them succeed, if we seek good and avoid evil in what we read day by day. Let me speak bluntly. The "yellow" press must be boycotted. Who would put poison daily on the breakfast-table of his family? And if the great battle of truth against falsehood, of peace against war, of justice against injustice, of love against lust, of sanity against madness—if this great crusade is to be won, we must have a press devoted to it. Otherwise man will destroy himself and our gains, so hardly won, will be lost.

A sound press and a reformed religion—what a noble alliance might they not make in the service of humanity? As a servant of men, a prophet of pure religion, a champion of innocence, we honour Karsandas, journalist and friend of Truth. At great personal cost he devoted his paper to noble but unpopular causes.

I have a great admiration for Karsandas as the pioneer in yet a third field. He was a fearless and consistent advocate of travel as a means of enriching our national life. Let us learn alike from East and West whatever we can. Insularity

* "Messenger of Truth", a journal.

breeds weaklings It is characteristic of this fearless man that he saw the need to break through the strange tabu against crossing "the black water" "All the earth is the Lord's", he said, "and therefore all is as sacred as our own soil" On the early travels of Indians he shed the light of truth, and proved that like so many strange inhibitions, this was of later growth

What harm these irrational tabus have done us, and how obstinate they are, largely because we have starved our women of true education! We feed them on superstition and breed ignorance But now they are thinking for themselves, and are becoming free to be themselves, and they owe much to such pioneers as Karsandas

He dared to think for himself on many grave questions, and when men do this and follow truth wherever it may lead them, they make history, and set free new and life-giving energies As a great thinker has said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" It is as a pioneer of freedom that Karsandas will remain in the memory and affection of India It is clear that we have much still to do Foreign travel is still in many quarters tabu May I, therefore, add some practical reflections suggested by my own experience as a ruler? I have just enacted a law against caste-tyranny, and Karsandas Mulji's life proves how strong that can be In our age excommunication is still common, and the pressure of caste is still tyrannical Nor is the loss to our national life small in the inveterate hold of heredity Men must do what they can do best, not simply what their forefathers have done A Kshatriya is not necessarily a man of action, nor a Shudra necessarily fitted only for menial service Let each rise to the fullest achievement of which he is by nature capable In a word, much of

our social *Dharma* is still far from democratic, and Karsandas was a pioneer also in this great spiritual movement for the free and unfettered growth of each individual within the society to which he belongs. The true test of a society is this: "Does it foster or thwart ability? Does it recognise or ignore the claims of personality? Does it set men and women free to achieve the best that is in them?" In helping to mould our social life on freer and more gracious patterns, Karsandas was an able and devoted apostle of freedom and truth. He is an immortal.* Great men live on in the emulation which they inspire:

चलं चित्तं चलं धनं, चले जीवितयौवने ।

चलाचलमिदं सर्वं कीर्त्तिर्यस्य स जीवति ॥

(The mind is fickle, fickle too is wealth: impermanent are life and youth, and all that moves, and that is still: he lives, and he alone, who wins immortal fame.)

CXLVI

At the Twenty-third Session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Delhi, 24th March 1934.

That India urgently needs a common language requires no argument. Language-barriers are one great factor in our national weakness.

But those who see this most clearly are divided between two possible solutions. One school, strongly entrenched in the south, sees in English the best common speech for all India. It argues that as India's intellectuals must know English, in order to keep in touch with the West and to conduct the business of politics and law and higher education, this medium will naturally become that of the masses too.

We have, in other words, to imagine every Indian as at least tri-lingual—with one tongue for his home and social life, and another, English—totally unrelated—for his public and inter-provincial communications. To these we must add Sanskrit, if he is a Hindu—Arabic and Persian, if he is a Muslim. These are needed, if he is not to be alienated from his own literary heritage.

Thus, with his everyday mind working in, say, Bengali or Marathi, he must have an English lobe and a Sanskrit or Persian lobe to his brain for his pursuit of Eastern and Western culture, and a good command of English as a *lingua franca*. I for one cannot see a unified or culturally progressive India, if this is the path to it.

The other proposal is rooted in the north. It says, "Hindi is our natural *lingua franca*". And linguistically it is obvious that a Sanskrit-based language will mean far less divorce between the everyday practical mind and the literary mind of our people. We Hindus ought to know Sanskrit, and Muslims will find in Persian an allied language of culture, and in Hindi a vernacular which they already use in its Urdu form. This is really Hindi, with Arabic and Persian words mixed with it. If Hindi then be accepted as our common speech, all in the upper two-thirds of India will have related tongues for their *lingua franca*, their literary culture, and their daily and homely vernaculars. To know three closely related languages is easier and also of greater cultural value than to know several unrelated tongues. We should be in the position of the Mediterranean peoples who know Latin as a classical tongue, French as an international one, and Italian or Spanish as vernacular. This is a close parallel, and their example is more inspiring than that of the Swiss who must know French, German and

English, who have no tongue of their own, and who have produced no great literature

If Hindi be accepted as the lingua franca for India, we cannot at present claim that we need not learn English also. We cannot afford to lose touch with England and the West.

But this will be for the intelligentsia only. There is a vast difference between, say, a million educated people learning a foreign tongue, and three hundred million largely illiterate people doing so. The common people can much more easily acquire Hindi, and much more fluency in inter-provincial intercourse will result.

This is a great practical benefit. But more important still is the psychological effect. There is something depressing about the habitual use of a foreign tongue. The natural poetry of speech gives place to a bastard and hybrid idiom, and spontaneity as well as beauty is lost.

Moreover, anything that de-nationalises also enslaves. Let us look at the example of England herself. It was only when she broke free from her mainland thralldom that she produced the English of Wyclif, Shakespeare and Milton. So when Japan broke away from her imitation of China, she produced her own civilisation, with its popular poetry and art, its code of *Bushido*, its own authentic Japanese spirit—*Yamato Damashii*.

To-day educated Japanese use English for their study of the West, and their contacts with Western people. They would not dream of using it among themselves, or for literary purposes. Thus, we have strong support in the past and in the present for urging the use of Hindi as our common tongue.

Let Hindi be the common yet graceful vernacular of us all. It will, however, need to be carefully defined. Let us

take it to be the language written in the north in Devanagari by Hindus and in Urdu by Muslims. And it is surely only the literary exaggerations—towards Sanskrit on one side, towards Arabic and Persian on the other—which have produced the difficulty a Lucknow Muslim has in understanding a Hindu of Benares. But this is the case also in China, when a Pckinese seeks to communicate with a Cantonese. And China is finding a way out of babel by agreeing that all shall use the *Pei-hua* or vulgar tongue for literature as well as for daily speech. That Hindi can be made the vehicle of a great literature Tulsidas and Kabir showed. And a Bengali can learn it in a few days—whereas it takes him many years to speak even the Babu-speech which makes him a joke to those whose Macaulayan English he apes. Macaulay was surely both right and wrong; right in foreseeing the immense cultural advantage of English education in India, wrong in forgetting that divorce from Indian culture means mental degradation. For Imperial affairs English, for the higher cultural life English and Sanskrit, for national life Hindi, for home-life our vernaculars—such is I think India's immediate path. Rooted as they are in local sentiment, the local vernaculars will persist—playing some part in cultural and social life, but a subordinate part, as India realises her unity and her place in the modern world. To do this she must overcome petty jealousies and narrowness of vision. "A great nation and little minds go ill together."

As to the question of a common script for India, I am opposed to an adaptation of the Roman script to Indian sounds for the same reason that I am opposed to English as a vernacular. It is not rooted in our soil. It is, like *esperanto*, an artificial product, not a natural growth. Our

barriers are admittedly great: dozens of alphabets added to the confusion of tongues. But as in Hindī we can arrive at a lingua franca, so Devānagari is our natural common script. Any one who knows the Sanskrit characters can easily learn to read all the derivative scripts; and if the Dravidian south has to master Sanskrit, in order to be culturally one with the rest of India, so it must also learn Hindi and Devānagari, to which Nandinagari is closely allied. If we pursue this policy steadily, there is no reason why in a few decades India should not be largely unified in language and in script—reading a common daily press, circulating ideas, conferring on public matters, producing a new national literature. It is a goal worth striving for. Reformers know the strength of sentiment. It often overpowers reason. But here reason and sentiment are surely at one. Enlightened patriotism calls for a national tongue, and reason urges that we achieve a standard and universal script. Our great neighbour China, with four hundred million people, is now teaching a common set of characters to all, and producing a new literature in the common tongue. If China in turmoil can do it, we can.

CXLVII

A Tribute to the Buddha on the opening of a Buddha-Vihara in Bombay.

When the President of the Buddha Society requested me to perform the opening ceremony of the "Ananda Vihara," I thought it my duty to accept the call; it has indeed been a most pleasant duty to me to associate myself with an undertaking whose sole object is to promote the cause of humanity.

As you all know, the essence of Buddha's teachings is the great respect he attached to life. He led men and women, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, in the pursuit of emancipation by training, controlling and purifying the three avenues of action—body, spirit and mind.

Much of the success of the Buddhist Faith is due to the Order of monks: it was this "Sangha" which first ensured for this religion its great vitality and its rapid spread, the members repeating the Three Refuges—to the Buddha (Intelligence), to the Dharma (Law) and to the Sangha (Assembly), and taking vows of abstaining from all that is unhealthy and wicked. Gautama tried to start an organised life in the Sangha, and through the members of that body he disseminated his teachings. He defined the scope of religion as active charity, cultivation of good thoughts, and destruction of evil ones. He awakened all classes to a sense of the real duty that they owed to man and to all living creation. He started Viharas to localise the activities of the Sangha, by providing means of education, imparting of religious instruction, opening of hospitals and all kinds of humanitarian work. The Viharas, for a long time, fostered a healthy corporate spirit, encouraged arts, and proved to be centres from which social, religious, moral and intellectual movements spread in many directions.

If we make a study of the great Faiths of the world, we learn that they arose as a protest against religion over-run by superstition and priest-craft. Zoroaster protested against the superstition of his time and country. The first call of Christianity was that men should recover the true spirit of the Jewish Faith. The mission of Martin Luther was to preach the return to Christianity as taught by Christ Himself. The mission of Shri Śankarācharya was to restore and

purify the different Hindu sects which had grown old, feeble and degraded.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world;
Thus God fulfils himself in many ways.

So the Buddha made a vigorous protest against the gross superstition and priest-craft of the Brahminical Order, which preached "Karma Kanda" and the vain attempt to attain salvation by asceticism and by the worship of idols. Many modern movements preach the same spirit of healthy reform.

Long had Buddha felt that life is vanity and full of suffering, and he full of sympathy, the son of a king, secretly stole away from the palace, renouncing rank, wealth and family and betook himself to the pursuit of Salvation. He practised severe penance to acquire superhuman wisdom and powers, but convinced of the futility of the exercises, he was seized with the temptation to return to his home and worldly affairs. But at last, the light of hope broke upon him as he perceived that in self-conquest and universal love lay the true path of salvation. That instant he became the Buddha—the Enlightened One.

Strange to say, the Faith of the Buddha no longer prevails in the land of his birth; but his doctrines have left an ineffaceable mark on the country, and to-day he is regarded as an "Avatar"; or incarnation of the Eternal.

Just as the Founder of the Christian Church inaugurated his mission by the Sermon on the Mount, so Gautama Buddha expounded the essentials of his doctrine in his first discourse in the Deer-Park at Sarnath, "setting in motion the wheel of the law". There are two aims which men should renounce: complete absorption in the passions on the one

hand, and the practice of austerity on the other. There is the Middle Path—the golden mean—which opens the eyes, bestows understanding and leads to peace, to insight, to the highest wisdom, to Nirvana. It is the eightfold path—right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right rapture.

What we want is peace. The means to attain it are loving-kindness, and *ahimsā* or harmlessness. Hatred cannot cease by hatred, it ceases by love. Overcome evil with good. This is the essence of true religion; it is central in Buddhism.

The teachings of Buddha are gloriously simple and worth following. His doctrines have been the consolation in life and death to untold millions, softening wild and savage races by tender words of loving-kindness.

In these days of strife and in the clash of races and religions, we are in need of the ethical, humanitarian and altruistic aspects of religion. To achieve this ideal in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay, there would be no better institution than the "Ananda Vihar".

There can be no higher religion than Truth; it alone leads to happiness. Establish the truth in your mind, for Truth is the image of God.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you longer. Dr Anandrao Nair's has been a labour of love. The Medical College and the Charity Hospital named after his mother are living examples of his humanitarian and charitable ideals; and this splendid building which I have the honour to open is its crowning glory.

I congratulate Dr Nair and the Buddha Society on this great work. I trust that this symbol of Buddha's greatness and self-sacrifice will be an incentive to many others to

follow in his footsteps. I hope this institution will be a source of consolation and inspiration to the poor and the suffering, and afford a quiet retreat to those who are in need of peace.

I have much pleasure in declaring the VIHARA open. I thank you, Dr Nair, for so kindly inviting me to perform this function. May this bring peace and happiness to all.

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